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teachers' perspectives on language policy
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*To want to give education
without considering the medium of instruction
is like wanting to give water to a village
but not considering the pipes.*

(Brock-Utne 2004)

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...to all the children whose beautiful smiles we will never forget.

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ABSTRACT

The Tanzanian English-only policy for secondary school education has led to considerable debates over the last years, with numerous publications (e.g. Brock-Utne 2002, Vavrus 2002) highlighting problems which the current system of English as the medium of instruction causes for effective teaching and learning in the East African country. On the basis of independent studies, including observations and experiments, conducted in secondary schools in especially urban or tourist areas in Tanzania, international researchers such as Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002) have illustrated that students tend to not have sufficient command of the English language when entering secondary school, which constitutes a major obstacle to understanding and acquiring complex subject knowledge as well as actively participating in the lessons. According to e.g. Hassana (2006), a change of the language policy towards the promotion of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in post-primary education is needed in order to improve chances for development both for individuals and the country itself, and to fight socio-economic inequalities which the recent English-only policy seems to have been reinforcing.

On the basis of an empirical study conducted in July and August 2014, this thesis intends to provide an insight into practices and experiences of teachers in daily work and life in two secondary schools situated in rural Tanzania, far away from any cities, infrastructure, electricity, mass media or the contact with the English language through tourism. Viewing educational language policy from an ethnographic perspective, the objective of the research presented here was to explore the rules of language use and the teachers' roles as potential policy- and decision makers in a private and a public secondary school located near the same village. This was linked to an investigation of strategies applied by teachers and pupils to convey and learn complex information through the medium of English and to cope with communication barriers during e.g. science lessons. The findings reveal how the teachers' perspectives on the recent language-in-education situation in the country, including aspects such as the role of English in Tanzania, challenges in learning and teaching, students' achievements and possible bi- or multilingual alternatives to the current English-only policy, differ in relation to their personal sociolinguistic backgrounds and particularly to their diverse work environments. Furthermore, the results demonstrate that some macro-language policies seem to be too powerful to be negotiated by individuals at the micro-level of school institutions, and how former colonial ties and present international economic relations have been impacting national decision-making processes in the Tanzanian education sector.

List of abbreviations

PART I

CBI	content-based instruction
CLIL	content and language integrated learning
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELTSP	English Language Teaching Support Programme
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
FL	foreign language
L1	first language
L2	second language
LP	language policy
LPP	language policy and planning
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture (Tanzania)
MOI	medium of instruction
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TGP	Tanzania Government Portal (official website)
TZS	Tanzanian shilling
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

PART II

HG	headmaster, governmental school
HP	headmaster, private school
RD	research diary
TGCi	Civics teacher, governmental school
TGCh	Chemistry teacher, governmental school
TGGeo	Geography teacher, governmental school
TGHis	History teacher, governmental school
TPCi	Civics teacher, private school
TPCh	Chemistry teacher, private school
TPPh	Physics teacher, private school

INTRODUCTION

The linguistically diverse United Republic of Tanzania belongs to the few African countries that have a uniting official language, in this case Kiswahili, which the vast majority of the population (95%) understands and speaks (Brock-Utne 2002: 2). As pointed out by e.g. Sa (2007: 3), adult Tanzanians mostly use Kiswahili as a second language, with one or two of the numerous local languages of the country learnt as a first language, whereas an increasing number of children (in urban areas) now grow up with Kiswahili as their first language. Additionally, due to Tanzania's past as a British colony and politicians' current belief in the language as the main source of development and the country's link to the rest of the world, English is present in domains such as business and administration, and also in education.

The Tanzanian national education system displays a strict language policy that requires pupils to learn both English and Kiswahili, and is considerably shaped by Tanzania's struggle to find an effective way to move from the school system inherited from the former German and British colonisers to an education that is more relevant for the population and "takes into consideration traditional values, people's socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as their educational needs" (Hassana 2006: 10). Today, Kiswahili is the language of instruction at primary school level, whereas from secondary school onwards (from the age of 14/15) English, which is taught as a compulsory subject in primary school, serves as the medium of instruction in all content subjects (e.g. Vavrus 2002: 377). Numerous studies have proved that this national English-only policy at post-primary level "raises difficult issues for individual and societal development as well as for teacher education" (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 349) and have suggested a reconsideration of the official language use at school.

This thesis is intended to present a sociolinguistic study of the current language-in-education situation in two Tanzanian secondary schools, one governmental and one private, located near the same village in a rural part of the country, with the focus on teachers' perspectives on language policy. Based on an initial theoretical approach to the topic, the present thesis aims at providing an insight into similarities and differences in teachers' opinions on the role of English in present-day Tanzania, on language policy and practice at school, and on alternative approaches to English-medium secondary education, as well as into the educators' personal experiences in teaching and reported students' achievements.

The first part of the paper establishes the theoretical background to the study, starting with the presentation of different views on the spread and status of English in the world, the definition of relevant concepts, areas and processes of language policy, especially with regard

to the educational context, and the introduction of main characteristics of three multilingual approaches to education. Furthermore, important historical, socio-cultural, linguistic and demographic features of the United Republic of Tanzania are introduced, including far-reaching language-in-education developments and the structure of the current school system, before more specific theoretical considerations on the use of English in secondary education are provided.

The second part of the paper is dedicated to the empirical study. The identification of the research objectives is followed by a description of the research approach (methodology and research process), the introduction of the setting as well as participants, and, finally, the presentation and analysis of the main research findings.

PART I: THEORY

As emphasised by Fairclough (2001: 203), to understand processes and social structures on a national or local level, it is vital to recognise that “they are set within an international frame which shapes them”. This also applies to the present use of English, which has achieved a special status on a global scale, across state borders and regions, while at the same time the language presents local dimensions of use.

The theoretical part of this thesis starts with establishing the frame, i.e. the wider context and basis upon which the presentation and analysis of the results of the empirical study presented in the second part of the thesis is placed. Therefore, partly with reference to the plurilingual situation and educational systems of ex-colonial (African) societies, section A aims at capturing the spread and influence of English on an international level, before defining relevant aspects of language policy, particularly in school settings, and multilingual approaches to education, focussing on the role of learning curricular subjects through additional (foreign) media of instruction. Section B continues with the introduction of important political, socio-cultural, and especially linguistic features of the United Republic of Tanzania, followed by an outline of historical developments in language (policy) and education in the former German and British colony. The third and last section (C) of part I provides a close look at the role of English (as a medium of instruction) in Tanzanian secondary education, considering political decisions and policy texts, school practices and possible challenges for teachers and students of the current system.

A) THE CONCEPTS

As described by Schneider (2007: 2), the English language constitutes a multifaceted phenomenon, “of concern of various people and disciplines”, which “raises issues of language policy and pedagogy, of cultural evaluation”. Before concentrating on dimensions of language ideologies and policies, and different language-in-education programmes, the preliminary theoretical considerations offered in this section start with the definition of features of the global spread of English and their perception by different scientists.

1. The global spread of English

In a society, languages fulfil various functions, which Cooper (1989: 99ff.) distinguishes according to ten categories, in terms of different purposes and domains: educational, school subject, literary, religious, mass media, work, official, provincial, wider communication, and

international. Whereas the role of languages in education will be the focus of a great part of the conceptual and practical considerations of this thesis, this section concentrates on the last two categories in Cooper's list, namely the international (and intra-national) dimension of media of wider communication, more exactly of one medium: English.

In an analysis of the political and socio-cultural motivations for the global *spread* of English, a term referring to "an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communications network that adopts a given language variety for given communicative functions" (Kachru 1992: 49), Crystal (2003: 120) emphasises two key geo-historical factors: the colonial expansion of the British Empire, and the emerging dominance of the U.S as a leading economic power, together resulting in the present-day status of English not only as a "communicative tool of immense power" (Pakir 2009: 227), but as "*the* international language" (Seidlhofer 2011: 2).

The next section reveals general functions of an international medium of communication, the fact that the power of the British and the U.S. indicated above has not been the only factor contributing to the current status of the English language, and that processes such as language learning and acculturation at global and local levels have played a decisive role. Additionally, three different positions regarding the driving forces, characteristics and results of the spread of English will be introduced.

1.1. English as an international language

In various contexts, English has been defined as an *international language*, not uncommonly interchangeably with related concepts such as English as a *world language* or *global language* (Rajadurai 2005: 122). According to Halliday (2006: 352), a global language can be understood as a "tongue which has moved beyond its nation", and has been adopted as a first or additional language for a variety of purposes by speakers of different linguistic backgrounds all over the world.

Based on this definition as a language which has moved, or has been moved, beyond its original (British) state borders and which has achieved a special international status, English is considered both the effect and the driving force of globalisation, and as constituting the first-rank medium of communication in domains such as business, e-commerce, technology, media, knowledge production and exchange (Pakir 1999: 346). Referring to the uniqueness of the spread of English across political and cultural boundaries, Kachru (1992: 4) highlights that the present-day global language is often learned "because of the status it may confer on the reader or speaker, because of the doors it opens" in diplomacy, trade and science.

1.1.1. Macroacquisition

According to Ferguson (2006: 112f.), it is especially the prominent role of English in areas of worldwide exchange such as science, and the common assumption of an existing link between the advancement in education and research on one side and access to international business and economic prosperity on the other side which motivates governments and educational institutions to give this language an extraordinary place in curricula of both schools and universities. Indeed, for instance, Seidlhofer (2011: 2) emphasises the increasing worldwide demand for English language learning, with a growing number of individuals acquiring the language in various socio-cultural contexts, which McKay (2006: 115) refers to as “macroacquisition”. This phenomenon is related to the development of a “global industry” (Stevens 1992: 27) of teaching the international medium of communication, which challenges and redefines traditional, national education structures and notions of learning, and which Maurais (2003: 29) describes as the major engine of language dissemination as such. Also Seidlhofer (2011: 3) delineates how English has become international

in two very different ways: it has been ‘exported’ to many regions of the world by its ‘native’ speakers, primarily through colonization, and so has invaded these places. It has, however, to an even larger extent been ‘imported’ by people all over the world who decided to learn it as a useful language in addition to their first language(s).

Therefore, whereas the first stages of the spread of English were initiated by the migration of (native) speakers of the language, today, language acquisition in local contexts plays a decisive role in the proceeding diffusion and internationalisation of English.

1.1.2. Going global

The history of the expansion of the British Empire as well as the economic supremacy of the United States illustrate that it is “the power of the people” (Crystal 2003: 9) rather than intrinsic linguistic properties through which a variety reaches the status of an international language. However, “military power to establish [...] and economic power to maintain” (Yano 2001: 121) the status of a language as a global medium are not the sole forces at work. This is also indicated by Seidlhofer’s description of the export and import of English, which involves agency on various socio-political and cultural levels of societies.

According to Rajadurai (2005: 111), speakers in various parts of the world have not only acquired the global language, but they have adopted English to serve both international and local needs. The development of English into a multifaceted medium that serves its local users and, at the same time, “connects the world” (Pakir 1999: 346), is defined as the new

trend of “going glocal” (ibid.). This direction in language spread implies that English evolves in two opposing ways, resulting, on the one hand, in local varieties used on an intra-national level, and, on the other hand, in standardised varieties for supra-regional communication, which Seidlhofer et al. (2009: 380) group into “Anglo-American English, Asian English, Euro-English, African English, Latin English, and Arab English”.

1.2. One phenomenon, different views

The described phenomenon of English evolving into an international language, which has been initiated by the extensive expansion of the British Empire hundreds of years ago and nowadays involves a combination of local and global developments of language dissemination such as large-scale language acquisition, can be variously defined according to two major attitudes towards the diffusion of English: the heterogeneity position and the homogeneity position (Pennycook 2003).

The first position refers to the description of all kind of varieties of English “as a sign of the pluricentricism that has been brought about globalization” (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng 2008: 3), whereas the latter apprehends the global spread of the English language as resulting in a homogenisation of the cultural diversity of the world. Drawing on this distinction, this section introduces three different views of the English language, of which two (1.2.1. and 1.2.2.) can be regarded as expressing a heterogeneity position whereas the third (1.2.3.) implies a negative attitude and is related to the homogeneity position defined by Pennycook.

1.2.1. The Kachruvian model

Kachru (e.g. 1986) has suggested a today well-known model for representing the worldwide diffusion of English that consists in three concentric circles – the *Inner Circle*, the *Outer Circle*, and the *Expanding Circle* – which portray the nature of the historical expansion, functional variations, and patterns of acquisition of the language across the globe.

According to his view, the UK, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and the US constitute the norm-providing *Inner Circle*, “the traditional basis” (Crystal 2003: 60), where English is used as a primary language. More than fifty multilingual areas which were the target of the early phases of the English language spread, such as India or Malawi, form the *Outer Circle*, which is “conceived as representing post-colonial Anglophonic contexts” (Bolton 2006: 292) in which English has occupied the position of a second or additional language in domains like administration, politics or media. The *Expanding Circle* encompasses territories which have never been colonised by people of the *Inner Circle*, and in which English does not perform any “official internal functions” (Jenkins 2009: 38). However, according to Kachru’s model,

the members of the third *Circle*, the rapidly expanding and largest of the suggested three, consider English an important means for international communication and learn it as a foreign language (in institutional contexts).

Not seldom, the *Three Concentric Circles* have been critically commented because of a number of features, including the conceptualisation of idealised patterns of English use in a model preliminary based on geographical locations and historical events of the colonial past rather than on current sociolinguistic data (Bruthiaux 2003: 161). Furthermore, another shortcoming of the model has been indicated by Kachru (1985: 14) himself:

The outer and the expanding circle cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other; they have several shared characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time.

The here described blurry boundaries between the Kachruvian Circles is also mentioned by, for instance, Ferguson (2006: 151), who highlights the impossibility of clearly distinguishing between the (intra-national) role of English in the *Outer Circle* and the use of the language in the *Expanding Circle* due to the fact that the present-day global medium of communication performs the function of a lingua franca¹ for members of all three circles.

Additionally, the model does not only obscure the complexity of the dimensions of English as a supranational language, but also poorly correlates with sociolinguistic realities within single nations belonging to one *Circle* (Rajadurai 2005: 117). Therefore, while, on the one hand, charting main geographical differences in the uses of English and thus representing a heterogeneity position, on the other hand, the Kachruvian model does not really account for dynamic changes in the domains and roles of the multifaceted language within all three units, nor for the varying levels of proficiency among speakers.

1.2.2. English as a lingua franca

A more recent view of the global spread of English is the perception of the language not only as an international medium but as a *lingua franca*, which captures one crucial dimension of the variety not sufficiently considered by Kachru, namely the one of “non-native-non-native interaction” (House 2003: 558). As already indicated by Ferguson (2006) in his critical comment on the Kachruvian model presented above, it is important not to forget the current use of English by the actual majority of its speakers, who do not share a common native language and “who use English as a lingua franca for communicating with other lingua franca speakers” (Seidlhofer 2011: 21).

¹ A definition of this term will be provided in the next section.

The term *lingua franca* (Arabic ‘Iisan-al-farang’) originally referred to an intermediary language evolved in the contact of Arabic speakers with travellers coming from Western Europe, and later broadened its meaning to apply to a language of commerce (House 2008: 66). Canagarajah (2006: 197) states that, from a historical point of view, English has functioned as a *lingua franca* in two major ways, i.e. as a contact language first for people in the expanding British Empire during the period of colonisation and then, accompanying the developments of globalisation, for an increasingly wide range of speech communities across the globe. However, as emphasised by House (2008: 66), whereas a *lingua franca* originally described a “rather stable variety with little room for individual variation”, present-day English is especially characterised by its functional flexibility.

According to this view of English developing (or having developed) into a *lingua franca*, today, the former British language is no longer solely in the hands of its native speakers (Seidlhofer et al. 2009: 282), nor is it a restricted or stable code, but it is a global yet diverse medium of communication which is continuously negotiated, acculturated and adapted in its functional and linguistic range (House 2003: 558).

1.2.3. Linguistic imperialism

While the ELF perspective is based on the observation that, today, the English language has no real norm-providing “owner” (House 2008: 68), a very different attitude towards the diffusion of the global language claims that the spread of English has been deliberately orchestrated by mainly two powers, the UK and the US, who have brought a considerable part of the world under their control and cultural influence. This homogeny position is especially expressed by the linguist Phillipson (1992), who, by concentrating on the economic and political implications of the expansion of English, which he refers to as *linguistic imperialism*, forcefully criticises the ideologies and (educational) practices of former British and American colonisers, which started with the “military imposition [...] and extending to the subtler neo-imperialist activities of Western cultural organizations and aid agencies today” (Canagarajah 2008:42).

As summarised by Spolsky (2004: 79), according to Phillipson, the global spread of English cannot be understood as

a complex result of a multitude of factors interacting with changing linguistic ecology, but [as] the direct and simple result of planned intervention by identifiable human agents, [...] the outcome of language management, [...] the working out of some conscious policy on the part of governments, civil servants, English-teaching professionals and their elite collaborators and successors in the peripheral countries.

Phillipson (1992:42) uses two categories to capture the here indicated economic and political discrepancy between the oppressors and the oppressed, caused, for instance, by deliberate financial allocations for the advancement of the learning of one particular language. He chooses the term *centre* to refer to the dominating countries, particularly the USA and GB, whose interests the diffusion of English serves, and the term *periphery* to label the suppressed countries, e.g. former colonies in Africa. Drawing upon these concepts, Phillipson (1992: 47) argues that the dominance of the English language is enabled and continuously reasserted by the (re)construction of cultural and structural inequalities between the *centre* and the *periphery*. At the same time, however, according to his view of *linguistic imperialism*, the dominant position of English is not solely the effect of extra-linguistic practices and realities, but also the cause, the instrument (Canagarajah 2008: 41).

As part of the reactions to Phillipson's theory, McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008: 4f.) take into consideration the former imperial agenda of the British and, on the one hand, admit

[t]hat any account of the spread of English would not be complete without a discussion on the role of colonialism. Firstly, [...] where the empire spread so did English. Second, the growth of the British Empire led many to associate the use of English with power since those who knew English had greater access to jobs. This association of English with power resulted in strong incentives to learn English. Finally, colonialism fuelled a discourse of the insider and outsider, or the Self and the Other, in which the native Other was often portrayed as 'backward', [...] 'primitive', while the colonizers, their language, culture, and political structures were seen as 'advanced', 'superior', [...] civilized, and so forth".

On the other hand, however, the *linguistic imperialism* hypothesis has been described as constituting a rather radical "cui bono argument" (Spolsky 2004: 76), i.e. if we are looking for those responsible for certain situations "we should ask who benefits" (ibid.), and has not remained unchallenged. Among others, Brutt-Griffler (2002: 110) mentions the unilateral attribution of agency in language spread as its greatest weakness: "it denies significant agency to speakers in the periphery, portraying them as passive recipients". Also Ferguson (2006: 114) recognises Phillipson's tendency to stress top-down processes in the change of language behaviour rather than to consider the possible involvement of second and foreign language users in the spread and appropriation of English, or the fact that also after the period of decolonisation the variety has been used for various intra-national, non-imperial purposes.

After considering varying definitions and directions, as well as different attitudes towards the causes and consequences of the diffusion of English on an international scale, one might return to Pennycook's thought: he himself, although, in a first step, having drawn a distinction between homogeny and heterogeny positions, thinks that the worldwide use of

English will ultimately lead neither to a purely heterogenic nor to a homogenic condition, but to a “fluid mixture of cultural heritage [...], of change and tradition, [...] of global appropriation and local contextualisation” (Pennycook 2003: 10). The agency of speakers, learners and decision makers in the creation or stimulation of such a “fluid mixture” (Pennycook 2003: 10) should not be ignored, which is emphasised by Spolsky (2004: 79f.), who questions if the present position of English should be seen as having “naturally” evolved as corollary of historical and socio-economic global developments or as having been deliberately (locally) initiated by politicians and institutions belonging to what Phillipson calls *the centre*: “Did it happen, or was it caused? Was it the unplanned result of the interaction of a number of factors, or the achievement of carefully nurtured management?”

The by Spolsky addressed aspect of management involved in language diffusion and change, which is not only related to English but to language (varieties) as such, constitutes the focus of the next section. Definitions of crucial concepts such as *language policy*, *top-down*, or *appropriation*, which have already appeared above in connection with Phillipson’s theory of linguistic imperialism, will be provided.

2. Language policy

As will already have become obvious in the analysis of features and dimensions of the global spread of English, “language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it”, but it exists in and through the “brain and mouths and ears and hands of its users” (Crystal 2003: 7). The here used term “brain” can be understood as an indication for language knowledge and competence but also for the conscious choices as well as less conscious beliefs and ideologies underlying language behaviour within and across societies as well as reflecting social stratification.

Starting with these belief systems and the definition of the status of languages, the following sections aim at establishing one part of the theoretical basis for the analysis of teachers’ perspectives on language policy and practices that will be presented in the empirical part of this thesis.

2.1. Language beliefs and ideologies

Language is not only a communicative tool but it performs a central function in the definition of an individual’s and group’s position within society. It is a decisive factor in the creation of social organisation, while, at the same time, also representing the social and ideological space of the construction of subjectivity, of “our sense of ourselves” (Seidlhofer 2003: 241). This idea of a language as a place of the formation and negotiating of identities and the

reinforcement and exchange of ideologies is also linked to beliefs about a language (variety) as such.

Spolsky (2004: 14) refers to members of a speech community as sharing a “set of beliefs about appropriate practices, [...] assigning value and prestige” to varieties and registers that constitute their language repertoires. These language beliefs can be defined as an abstract system which, on the one hand, derives from linguistic behaviour, while, on the other hand, also affects speakers’ choices and determines judgements as well as language attitudes (McGroarty 2010b: 3). These common-sense assumptions or “culturally embedded metalinguistic forms of language use” (Blommaert 2006: 241) are ideologies implicit in interactions and often perceived by their adherents as “the natural order of things” (Johnson 2013: 112). Language beliefs do not only include conceptions of language status and functions but are also closely related to power, as they influence and negotiate relations among speakers in conversations (Fairclough 2001: 2).

According to Schmied (1991: 168), language ideologies are supported by e.g. personal, communicative or educational arguments and shaped by social and political factors. While these belief systems frame various aspects of language use, their influence on practices, and especially the political impact of language ideologies can often not be directly observed. For instance, if national ideologies concerning the status of language varieties are not explicitly promoted and, therefore, remain tacit, they have to be “inferred from the nature of individual and group actions, expectations and decisions occurring in social realms” (McGroarty 2010a: 99) and institutions. However, McGroarty (2010b: 4) stresses that speakers’ observable behaviour may be inconsistent with openly proclaimed linguistic ideologies, especially due to the fact that ideologies “do not exist in vacuum”:

[They] share social and conceptual territory with other core beliefs and related agendas that influence decisions regarding appropriate alternatives in education, work, government policies and so on in an every-dynamic policy stream (ibid.).

Among the most prominent of such ideologically shaped decisions at state level is the assignment of a special status to a variety that is selected to function as a national or official language.

2.2. Language status

Wolff (2000: 301) equates patterns of language behaviour with social behaviour which happens in a “cohabitation of human beings” determined by social rules and stratification. Just as individuals and groups occupy different positions within a society, also languages and language varieties are defined in (ideologically constructed) hierarchal relationships, along a

“high-low continuum” (ibid.).

In most parts of the world, linguistic homogeneity within a country or community is an exception. In multilingual societies in Africa, the development of a so-called “diglossic² situation” (Ferguson 2006: 25) may be observable, which Eastman (1992: 97) defines as “the use of different languages or varieties of a language in different situations”. According to its purpose, a language (variety) may perform “high” functions (H) in domains such as politics or education, or “low” functions (L) in more informal contexts, for instance in intra-family interactions at home (Ferguson 2006: 25). Especially African countries tend to present a particular diglossic or even triglossic reality, in which, in terms of contexts of use, local, national and official languages are distinguished on a high-low scale in relation to social prestige and acceptance (Brenzinger 1992: 295).

2.2.1. National language, official language

Throughout the world, the socio-political notion of *nation* has considerably influenced the definition of cultural and linguistic groups, with the establishment of a connection between language and nation playing a central role (Pennycook 2010: 62). Legislative approaches in the selection and proclamation of national or official languages, which constitute an important aspect of both nationality and ethnicity, have a long history in Europe and other parts of the world such as (relatively young) states in Asia or Africa (Eastman 1999: 147). In this context, Bambgbose (1991: 11) highlights the role of languages in the process of national integration and in the assertion of nationhood in a newly independent country:

A major preoccupation of many African countries is, [...] how to ensure the continued ‘oneness’ of their states as well as the forging of a bond of belonging together as nationals of the state. [...] National integration is often fostered through a series of overt measures designated to reinforce the sentiment of oneness. Such measures include [...] ideologies designed to raise national consciousness [...] and language.

Functioning as a symbol of identity as well as potential source for national pride (Ferguson 2006: 22), a national language can be defined as a “language of political, cultural and social unit” (Holmes 2001: 97). Often recognised as belonging to one particular nation, it is thought to represent an entire national area that encompasses regional or cultural/linguistic subdivisions (Eastman 1999: 147). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 15f.), national

² Although still applied by e.g. Ferguson (2006) and Eastman (1992) when referring to plurilingual African societies, the here used concept of “diglossia”, which is based on the study of languages as entities with different social functions, has been questioned and defined as a complex, ideologically laden construct by sociolinguists such as Ricento (e.g. 2000: 202).

languages are explicitly specified in political constitutions. These languages may be assumed to be used by a great number of citizens, while they are not necessarily languages which are spoken by the whole population of a country. A national language may have been assigned a special status for purely political reasons without actually being widely distributed within a state (Heine 1992: 25).

In contrast to a national language, an official language is primarily “a language legally prescribed as the language of governmental operations for a given nation” (Eastman 1999: 147), which occupies a more utilitarian role, and occurs in linguistically very heterogeneous states that “include within their borders speakers of a large number of languages” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 16). Similar to national languages, official languages are declared in a country’s constitution and often learnt through the national education system.

Despite the here provided distinction, state policies display various ways of positioning languages within a society, for instance, one variety may also be chosen to serve the function of a national and an official language. Also, in some countries in which more languages compete, a number of languages may be legally identified as *national* or *official* (Spolsky 2004: 162). Additionally, Holmes (2001: 97) claims that governments tend to apply the terms *national* or *official* solely according to their political ends, without considering sociolinguistic definitions, particularly in multilingual countries such as former Asian or African colonies in the era after their gain of independence. The language policies of these states can be distinguished according to whether they have chosen indigenous or colonial and foreign languages for national or official purposes at a supra-ethnic level (Baker 2006: 83f.).

2.2.2. Endoglossy and exoglossy

As a general practice following the division of considerable parts of the world among the major European powers (e.g. UK, France, Germany) in the era of colonialism of the 18th and 19th centuries, European languages were introduced in the occupied territories to serve political, economic and educational ends and to represent a “unifying medium of communication within a colony” (Crystal 2003: 79). Later, with their gain of independence, the formerly conquered territories also gained the possibility of deciding for official languages (Spolsky 2004: 167). Generally such a selection constitutes a rather difficult matter (Spolsky 2004: 167), especially because

[the] determination of one or more official language(s) for a country is linked to considerations as to whether the choice enhances or endangers national unity by its consequences for the balance of power (Wolff 2000: 342).

Depending on two main forms of decision-making, two types of national policies can be distinguished: exoglossic and endoglossic. Whereas the first refers to countries using languages of former colonial powers or foreign languages as an official medium in domains such as education and administration, the latter have selected indigenous languages to serve this government-controlled function. (Heine 1992: 23)

According to Lewis and Trudell (2010: 267), exoglossic nations, including among others the majority of African countries, aim at establishing political as well as social stability by developing national (linguistic) unity and, in this way, “reducing inter-ethnic conflict”. Although all of these countries give foreign languages a primary status, some of them may also have “an indigenous national language at their disposal” (Heine 1992: 23).

Different to an exoglossic approach, endoglossic policies are committed to supporting local languages, which are developed to function as a symbol of socio-cultural unity (Lewis & Trudell 2010: 267). However, endoglossic nations may also use imported languages in some specified formal domains such as international relations or higher education (Heine 1992: 24).

By defining concepts of status and prestige in relation to language, this section has highlighted that the selection and positioning of a language (variety) within a nation is more politically motivated than directly linked to aspects such as “usage, viability, or practicability” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 17). Furthermore, the necessity for a (post-colonial) pluriethnic state to select a majority language for official life has been addressed. The choice of languages by society and/or political leaders is based on various decision-making processes in the context of language policy. At this point, one might ask what the exact meaning of *language policy* in different domains such as education is. Where does it start, where does it end? Who is involved, who are the “politicians”? The following section will provide some answers to these essential questions.

2.3. Defining language policy

According to Shohamy’s (2006: 45) definition, language policy (LP) can be understood as a complex mechanism which impacts and modifies language behaviour of individuals and groups, including their beliefs and practices, through decisions about preferred language varieties and their legitimisation in society. This powerful mechanism consists of processes of organising the learning and teaching of languages, as well as their functions and the context of their application. Language policy “acts as a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between ideologies” (Shohamy 2006: 45).

Broadening this general definition and making a first step towards the emphasis of the multidimensionality and dynamicity of LP, Johnson (2013: 9) provides an overview of important components found at various levels of decision- and policy making:

1. Official regulations – often enacted in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in the form, function, use or acquisition of language – which can influence economic, political, and educational opportunity;
2. Unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulating power over language use and interaction within communities, workplaces, and schools;
3. Not just products but processes – “policy” as a verb, not a noun – that are driven by a diversity of language policy agents across multiple layers of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation;
4. Policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity, which are influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context.

Some of these aspects, especially points 2 and 3, are thought to be particularly relevant for the topic and focus of analysis of this thesis and, therefore, will be explained in greater detail in this section, starting with a couple of distinctions related to language policy types and continuing with the view of LP as a recurring process with various agents involved.

2.3.1. Some dichotomies

Different kinds of LPs can be distinguished according to their origin, means, documentation, and according to whether they concern the law or the actual practices. For the better understanding of these differences, Johnson (2013: 10) offers a useful framework in which he identifies four sets of dichotomies: top-down/bottom-up, overt/covert, explicit/implicit, de jure/de facto.

Following his approach, *top-down* defines policies generated on a macro-level by political leaders or any authority, whereas *bottom-up* concerns micro-level policy developed by and for the group it influences. *Overt* refers to language policies which are expressed and formalised in policy texts (written or spoken), different to *covert* policies which are unstated, “intentionally concealed” (Johnson 2013: 10). Similar to this distinction, but more specifically indicating the way in which LPs are documented, *explicit* language policies, including e.g. the official written proclamation of national languages, as well as curricula or language tests, are spelt out in writing, in contrast to *implicit* policies, which exist without being declared (in written form). As explained by Shohamy (2006: 50), the latter may occur at micro-levels but also at state level, when “nations do not have explicit policies that are formulated in official documents”. The last dichotomy in the framework provided by Johnson (2013: 10) refers to whether a policy is “in law” (*de jure*), or “in practice” (*de facto*). The latter includes either

policies that are produced at local level without or despite the existence of de jure policies, or local practices, e.g. classroom language practices, which differ from officially stated policies.

In addition to these distinctions, considering the dimension of intervention in the context of LP, one term is used, sometimes interchangeably with the notion of language policy (Ferguson 2006: 16) while by some linguists (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997) applied as a separate concept: language planning.

2.3.2. Language planning

Spolsky (2004: 5) delineates LP of a speech community as consisting of three major aspects: language ideology and beliefs, language practices, and “any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management”. As further explained by Spolsky (2004: 8), the here addressed “management” concerns the direction of interventions for the modification of language behaviour by institutions or single persons, which Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 3) refer to as “deliberate planning”.

According to Ferguson (2006: 16), whereas *language policy* applies to processes of goal setting and decision-making, *language planning* means the “implementation³ of plans for attaining these goals”. Shohamy (2006: 49) concentrates on the exercise of power in the field of LP and, similar to the definition given by Ferguson, states that

language planning refers to control, it does not leave anything to the individual to decide, as the governing body determines not just what the person will know but also how he or she will arrive there. [...] Language policy attempts to be less interventionist and to refer mostly to principles with regard to language use.

Although, on the one hand, providing this distinction, on the other hand, Shohamy (2006: 49) stresses the difficulty of identifying unambiguous boundaries between *language planning* and *language policy*, which is also emphasised by Ferguson (2006: 17), who warns that considering the two terms as referring to separate phenomena encourages “a view of language planning as primarily a set of technical activities” that ignores the influence of socio-political factors on all stages of decision making and planning.

Furthermore, Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 404) note that planning is just one of the possible causes of language change, as well as that it may not always automatically follow language policy. In the following sections, instead of the two separate terms *policy* and *planning*, the concept *language policy* will be used to refer to the whole field, as LPP may more realistically be seen as a dynamic, recursive process “in which all actors potentially

³ The use of the concept *implementation* in relation to the various stages (or processes) involved in language policy will be critically commented in the next section, based on recent approaches in LP research.

have input” (Johnson 2009: 142) rather than a chain of unidirectional steps and stages of policy making and management.

2.3.3. LP as a continual process

The field of the study of language policy has been shaped and enriched by transformations, changing foci and conceptualisations (Hornberger & Johnson 2007: 509). Traditional LP research concentrated on the “extreme ends” (Levinson & Sutton 2001: 5) of language policy processes, i.e. the way policy is formed on a macro-level and how its implementation impacts language behaviour, by developing frameworks for the analysis and maybe support of national language planning (Hornberger & Johnson 2007: 509). More recent approaches have evolved, for instance, in the field of critical sociolinguistics, which critically studies LPP activities in defined contexts, e.g. educational institutions, in relation to “social, economic, and political effects” of the contact of languages and speech communities (Ricento 2000: 202). However, according to Johnson (2013: 96), even the approaches to LPP research which investigate e.g. the delimitation of minority languages by hegemonic policies tend to view implementation from a too “technocratic perspective”, defining language policy as a predominantly top-down process and attaching much importance to the intentions of macro-level policy makers. Hornberger and Johnson (2007: 509) stress the insufficient consideration of bottom-up policy creation and human agency by portraying “those who are meant to put policy into action” as powerless “implementers” (Johnson 2013: 97). Therefore, besides important approaches such as the one of critical sociolinguistics, another way of studying language policy activities has developed: ethnographic research.

Ethnographic research

Different to traditional scholarship, ethnographic research, which aims at interpreting the complexity and logic of practices, discourses and socio-cultural worlds, emphasises “the lived experience of people in everyday life” (Levinson & Sutton 2001: 4) and their engagement in policy processes. By redefining the concept of policy itself as an “on-going process of cultural production constituted by diverse actors across diverse social and institutional contexts” (Levinson & Sutton 2001: 1), ethnography can offer in-depth descriptions of LP developments within communities and institutions such as schools, and, therefore, is proposed by e.g. Johnson (2013: 139) as a method establishing micro-macro links. As a response to former technocratic approaches and with reference to the context of e.g. schools and classroom discourse, Levinson and Sutton (2001: 5) note that the ethnographic approach to

the study of language policy assigns agency directly to institutional actors, and introduce the notion of “appropriation”.

Appropriation and instantiation

In contrast to the perception of LP processes as consisting of successive distinct steps of policy creation and policy implementation (e.g. Bamgbose 1991: 133), which separates actions at government level from daily practices at community level, Levinson and Sutton (2001: 3) prefer the analysis of policy “in terms of how people appropriate its meaning”.

Appropriation concerns the way in which LPs are negotiated, interpreted and “put into action” by multiple creative agents across various levels of society, who

incorporate discursive and institutional resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action; appropriation is a kind of taking of policy and making it one’s own (Levinson & Sutton 2001: 3).

Johnson (2013: 107) adopts this notion and provides a characterisation of LP which is based on the tripartite system of “creation, interpretation, appropriation” and is then expanded by the addition of a fourth, very significant component, *instantiation*, which refers to the actual patterns of language use by individual speakers in a given socio-cultural, political context, resulting from the other three processes. Therefore, the instantiation of a policy describes “the product of how language policies are appropriated on the ground level” (Johnson 2013: 107), for instance in the classroom, and highlights the possible occurrence of all LP processes across multiple levels of authority in an institution or community. This approach to the analysis of language policy enables the shift of the emphasis from the study of policy texts to the various modes in which LPs are interpreted and “put into action by active and creative agents” (Johnson 2009: 142) within a specific domain.

2.3.4. Domains

As highlighted by the delineation of the dynamic nature of language policy from an ethnographic perspective, decision- and policy making in relation to languages, although not uncommonly perceived especially at the macro-level of national politics, is relevant on different levels of society and areas of (community) life (Shohamy 2006: 48). For instance, McGroarty (2013: 36) and Ferguson (2006: 32f.) outline a variety of private and institutional domains in which LP activity happens simultaneously.

In a non-institutional context, the family can be identified as a domain in which, “just as in any other social unit, language policy [...] may be analysed as language practice, ideology and management” (Spolsky 2004: 42). The study of LP processes within a home can

be relevant because it reveals to which extent external pressures impact relationships and family organisation, and looks at important, far-reaching decisions such as the choice of languages with which children are raised. Beyond the family, various other social groupings including e.g. villages, (local) religious communities or larger units such as cities can be seen as an important domain for the study of patterns of language behaviour and policy (Spolsky 2004: 45f.).

Considering more institutional contexts, government organisations at regional, national and international levels, as well as the military, legal institutions, business communities, broadcasting agencies, book and newspaper publishers, workplaces in general, and especially educational systems display their own ways of engaging in the creation and appropriation of LPs, as “watchdogs, opinion leaders, gatekeepers, and [...] reproducers of the existing reality” (Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 416). Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 415) refer to institutions as “relatively permanent socially constituted systems” through which social needs are met, individual identities shaped and cultural values transmitted. Duchêne and Heller (2012: 324) stress the role of language in the articulation of power and formation of categories of social class at the workplace.

In institutional domains, language functions as a powerful medium for not only expressing immediate relationships, but, in fact, for creating identities and social realities, and, therefore, language is constantly controlled and modified. This is especially observable in educational contexts, in which language can be considered a “political activity” (Davies 2009: 46), and which involves language policy development in various governmental sectors, such as the Ministry of Education, non-governmental (supranational) cultural agencies, e.g. the British Council, NGOs, examination bodies and publishers, as well as decision making at regional and local levels, including district administration, schools, and classrooms (Alderson 2009: 17).

2.4. Educational language policy

Among the domains described above, education is “probably the most crucial, sometimes indeed bearing the entire burden of LP implementation” (Ferguson 2006: 33) and a cornerstone in a country’s transformation, because of mainly three reasons: in most parts of the world the education sector is controlled and financed by the state; schools, with teachers “in loco parentis” (Lo Bianco 2010: 164), constitute one of the most important environments for socialisation; and through curriculum development the state exerts influence on next generations, shaping processes of knowledge acquisition and pupils’ behaviours and attitudes

(Ferguson 2006: 34).

Especially the aspect of governmental and educational institutions impacting the selection of pedagogic practices and curricula indicates their involvement in processes of choosing and promoting particular languages as well as in the education of school pupils about sociolinguistic realities, which affects languages in their relation to power (Fairclough 2010: 352). In fact, particularly in multilingual societies in which different positions of communities and individuals have to be balanced, education systems represent the major field in which policies on language are made and applied (Tan & Rubdy 2008: 3).

The following three sections aim at providing a definition of the concept of *educational language policy*, before giving an overview of the major areas of LP in education and the agentive role of teachers in the sector.

2.4.1. Defining educational LP

Educational programmes vary across and within countries, with differences in relation to institutional structures, resources and the degree of a population's participation determining the access to and nature of education on all levels (McGroarty 2013: 36). Concentrating on the impact of educational programmes on language, the term *educational language policy* refers to policies, both official and unofficial, which are “created across multiple layers and institutional contexts (from national organisations to classrooms)” (Johnson 2013: 54) and which reflect different ideologies about language learning and language as such.

Viewing educational language policy from an ethnographic perspective, Johnson (2013: 54) emphasises the fact that, although in-class practices may be shaped by decisions made on a national macro-level and by various socio-political factors of a schools' environment, also in the educational domain, LPs are locally “interpreted, appropriated, and instantiated in potentially creative and unpredictable ways”. Language policy occurs in different areas of the educational sector, and to varying degrees influences practices in schools, in domains such as language teaching and the selection of languages for content learning.

2.4.2. Types and areas of educational LP

It is possible to distinguish different types of educational LP which relate to questions that arise especially in terms of the role of the pupils' first languages in educational processes, the languages chosen to function as media of instruction (MOI) at primary, secondary and tertiary level, and the selection of additional languages taught as subjects (Spolsky 2004: 46). The latter aspect is linked to decisions about when a language is introduced as a curricular subject,

whether and for whom it is compulsory, and for how many years it will be learnt (Ferguson 2006: 34f.).

However, according to Baldauf and Li (2010: 236), the choice of MOI constitutes a more important factor in the context of LP in education than (second/foreign) language teaching. They define the medium used for teaching an educational system's basic curriculum "a powerful means of maintaining and revitalizing" (ibid.) cultures and of offering or denying socio-linguistic groups access to political and economic opportunities. This is also emphasised in the following description of the selection of languages of instruction as constituting a major challenge in the equal provision of quality education:

While some countries opt for one language of instruction, often the official or majority language, others have chosen to use educational strategies that give national or local languages an important place in schooling. Speakers of mother tongues which are not the same as the national or local language are often at a considerable disadvantage in the educational system similar to the disadvantage in receiving instruction in a foreign official language. (UNESCO 2003: 14)

Similar to the challenge indicated here, many countries display a gap between languages used at home and those used and learnt at school (Spolsky 2004: 46). In other words, children tend to grow up acquiring local languages and dialects in their families, and, when entering school, they rarely have already gained control over the media of instruction used in educational settings.

Concerning the selection of a MOI, Lambert (1999: 152f.) especially focuses on multilingual post-colonial states and differentiates between endoglossic policies favouring domestic languages and exoglossic policies opting for foreign languages "whose primary base is outside the country". In the first case, further distinctions can be made depending on whether the choice of MOI happens in "ideologically homogenous language countries", i.e. nations in which mostly a single language is used throughout the education system, in "linguistically dyadic or triadic countries", i.e. plurilinguistic states, or in "mosaic societies", to which many parts of the world belong that are characterised by a very complex linguistic composition (Lambert 1999: 152f.). In the second case, not uncommonly languages of former colonising (European) powers have been continued to be used in e.g. African and Asian countries and have partly adopted features of domestic languages.

Related to (language and) education enabling and shaping individual and societal developments, and a country's progress, Ferguson (2006: 35) argues that the here mentioned choice of media of instruction in post-colonial contexts such as Malaysia, India, Kenya or Tanzania is not only an educational but especially a political matter:

Indeed, the consequences for society, and not just for the individual learner of choosing one medium in preference to another are so far-reaching that political considerations usually trump educational ones.

Throughout the 19th century, education and “westernisation” (Spolsky 2004: 83) of colonised populations were considered part of the responsibilities of the colonising powers, and educational language policies installing European languages in official positions were crucial in “shaping colonial subjectivities” (Tan & Rubdy 2008: 6) as well as in regulating individuals’ access to labour markets. However, since their gain of independence in the 20th century, national authorities in post-colonial multilingual societies have had to deal with competing ideologies and concerns and to face important decisions concerning the media of instruction and languages used in educational materials (Tan & Rubdy 2008: 4).

Apart from the types of language policies related to the selection of languages for subjects and in-class interaction, not only in ex-colonial countries but in educational systems in general, LP in education can be described according to choices made in the following wider policy areas: resourcing, access, curriculum, methods and materials, evaluation, personnel, and teacher-led policy (Baldauf & Li 2010: 235). This distinction involves aspects such as the fiscal support of educational programmes, various assessment processes (e.g. entry exams and in-course testing), choice of materials and pedagogic strategies, as well as teacher supply and training (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 8f.). The area of teacher-led policy is mentioned separately from personnel policy because it concerns the potential agency and critical role of teachers in LP-creating in and outside their classes (Baldauf & Li 2010: 240).

2.4.3. Teachers as agents

Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 417) place educators in the centre of LP activity, and also Johnson (2013: 97), although noting that some macro-policies might be too powerful to overcome at local level, emphasises that classroom practitioners are not “helplessly caught in the ebb and flow of shifting ideologies in language policies” but rather “develop, maintain and change that flow”. Because of their authoritative position in the classroom, in which they regulate language behaviour and confirm or modify what is expressed by curricula (Lo Bianco 2010: 166), teachers can be regarded as essential players in the promotion of reforms and quality education as well as having professional responsibilities towards their pupils and communities (UNESCO 2000: 20).

Performing agentive roles rather than merely reproducing social realities (Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 418), local educators are not simply policy implementers but, through the negotiation and appropriation of LPs at local level, involved in wider policy making itself.

They might be able to transform not only in-class practices but thereby also institutional contexts as well as broader political and social conditions:

Certainly, language policies can define the limits of what is educationally normal and/or possible but, even within ostensibly restrictive language policies, there are often implementational spaces in the policy texts, and ideological spaces in schools and communities, which educators can use [...] to challenge dominant educational discourses (Johnson 2009: 55).

The analysis of LP in educational systems from a socio-cultural, ethnographic perspective foregrounds the ability of teachers and administrators on various institutional levels to identify these implementational spaces for the individual negotiation of top-down policies (Hornberger & Johnson 2007: 510). In this way, according to Johnson (2013: 98), the interpretation and instantiation of macro-policies at local level is decisive for the actual extent of their influence and, therefore, can be perceived as “an act of creation” itself.

The last sections have delineated how language policies, linked to beliefs and ideologies which are present among members of speech communities and crucial in the determination of a language’s status in a country, are continuously formed and appropriated by various agents in non-institutional and institutional contexts, especially in the educational sector. The theoretical considerations of this thesis will continue by moving from language policy orientations to a look at some multilingual approaches to the actual integration of languages in educational programmes of plurilingual societies.

3. Multilingual approaches to education

As already stressed, educational language policy constitutes a critical domain in which societies’ expectations regarding the success of their “future members are simultaneously expressed, enabled, and constrained” (Vuzo 2005: 55). In fact, language as such occupies an essential role in quality education because of its function as the vehicle of understanding and learning (Benson 2005: 1). Language as the key to in-class communication, and consequently to success in learning and development of individuals, is not to be underestimated especially in countries characterised by societal and individual plurilingualism where educational systems display disparities between the medium of instruction, the learners’ first language(s), and the languages learnt as curricular subjects (Walter 2010: 130f.).

While multilingual communities, e.g. in Africa, tend to have developed a way of balancing the use of a number of languages and language varieties in daily life, assigning them different functions and statuses, the remaining challenge is the adaption of education

systems to these diverse realities, by considering both learners' needs and social as well as political demands (UNESCO 2003: 12). Although being maybe easier to administrate and manage at national level, uniform solutions for meeting this challenge, i.e. the advancement of a small number of selected languages in education, "disregard the risk involved both in terms of learning achievement and loss of linguistic diversity" (UNESCO 2003: 13). Therefore, a multilingual approach to education might be preferred to address the needs of culturally heterogeneous societies, which implies the use of two or more languages (local, national, international languages) for learning and teaching:

In regions where the language of a learner is not the official or national language of the country, bilingual and multilingual education can make mother tongue instruction possible while providing at the same time the acquisition of languages used in larger areas of the country and the world (UNESCO 2003:17).

The here mentioned use and learning of additional languages, i.e. languages other than a learner's first language, across various levels of education systems varies according to a number of context-related, socio-political factors and pedagogical considerations, such as the languages' positions in the country, the intensity of their use at school, and general aims of educational programmes (Cenoz & Gorter 2012: 301). Before giving a brief overview of three types of multilingual programmes, it might prove useful to try to define three concepts which are widely applied in this context: *first language*, *second language*, and *foreign language*.

3.1. Basic distinctions: L1, L2, FL

The distinction offered in this section refers to the languages used and learnt throughout education systems. It is primarily based on the following three criteria: the order in which the languages are acquired by individuals, their presence in people's everyday lives, and the function they perform in contexts outside school classrooms.

The term *first language* (L1) means the initial language acquired as a child, which is commonly considered the language someone identifies with, or is identified by others as a native speaker (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 106). *Second language* (L2) will be applied to refer to an additional language (or additional languages, depending on the individual and societal linguistic situation) which is learnt subsequent to children's L1s, in a context where it is used in the environment outside their homes and where it occupies a dominant position in society (Loewen & Reinders 2011: 152f.). Although for some linguists such as Mitchell et al. (2013: 1), *second language* encompasses all kind of varieties of local, national or wider communication learnt in families or educational institutions after the earliest childhood,

regardless of their status and function in society, for the purpose of this thesis, a L2 will be distinguished from a *foreign language* (FL).

Different to a second language, a *foreign language* is not used as a “majority or official language in a country” (Loewen & Reinders 2011: 68), and is learnt in mostly institutional contexts. An important aspect in the distinction between L2 and FL represents the learners’ exposure to the variety outside school environments, which tends to be little in the case of foreign languages. Another point is mentioned by Strevens (1992: 42), who, particularly in his analysis of the roles of English in education systems around the world, notes that L2 learning in institutional contexts is often linked to the use of the target language as a medium of instruction, while FL learning is more commonly based on teaching languages as a subject.

3.2. Learning through an additional MOI

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 581) and Baker (2006: 215), a “mainstream” monolingual approach to education prevails in communities in which the first language of a great number of pupils in a class is assumed to be the official and widely used language of the country, and is based on the teaching of content through this variety, while additional (foreign) languages are learnt as separate subjects. The here described “curriculum focus” (Davison & Williams 2001: 58) of learning/teaching a language as a subject matter is very different from “learning through a language” (Ouane & Glanz 2005: 1), i.e. studying content through an additional language used as medium of instruction.

The media of instruction present across various levels of an education system belong to the most decisive factors influencing a child’s achievements at school (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 571), especially in multilingual societal contexts. In many pluricultural countries, the goal of providing education in pupils’ first languages cannot easily be achieved due to a number of aspects which include e.g. the lack of resources, trained teachers and educational materials, as well as the circumstance that a variety may not be recognised as a legitimate language, or that the number of L1s among pupils is too ample to be integrated into a nation’s school system (UNESCO 2003: 15f.). Therefore, approaches to education may be adopted which are different to the “mainstream” monolingual programmes mentioned above, and in which (also) additional languages are used for teaching and learning curricular subjects.

As highlighted by Cummins and Corson (1997: xii), multilingual programmes which involve a number of languages (as MOI) throughout primary, secondary and tertiary education are manifold, and differ in terms of goals, features of the student group,

“instructional time through each language, and the sociolinguistic and socio-political situation in the immediate community and wider society.” Taking into consideration some of their basic pedagogical and organisational characteristics, the following sections will briefly introduce three multilingual approaches.

3. 2. 1. Bilingual instruction

According to e.g. Baker (2006: 213) or Stroud (2002: 25f.), the rather simplistic term *bilingual education* is applied to a complex phenomenon which displays a variety of language-in-education models dependent on unique multilingual contexts. However, in their classic definition, bilingual programmes, as distinguished from traditional monolingual approaches to education, can be regarded as aiming at mediating content in different subject lessons in two languages, i.e. also through an additional medium which is not the language(s) used by the pupils at home (Pakir 2001: 343). Therefore, throughout the different levels of educational systems, teaching is provided in two languages, and the second/foreign language is treated as a medium rather than an “object” (Loewen & Reinders 2011: 20). Thus, “the attention of the learner is not primarily directed at the linguistic form but at the material that is being mediated” (Christ 1997: 9).

Apart from the general principle of academic instruction in two languages, the variety of bilingual models in education may be defined according to two broad categories. Whereas Benson (2005: 12) claims that “in an effective bilingual program students become [...] communicatively competent” and able to learn, read as well as write in both languages, Cummins and Corson (1997: xii) stress that bilingual competences are not the main intended outcome of all bilingual approaches. They note that a distinction has been made in terms of means and goals:

When bilingual education is defined in relation to the means through which particular educational goals are attained, proficiency in two languages is not necessarily a goal of bilingual education. [...] However, the term bilingual education is sometimes defined in relation to goals, to refer to educational programs that are designed to promote bilingual skills among students. (Cummins & Corson 1997: xii)

A further distinction can be made related to one specific type of bilingual education, namely transitional bilingual programmes, which are characterised by the use of the pupils’ first languages in teaching/learning for a limited period of time before the transition into instruction in the additional language (Johnson 2013: 38): in early exit transitional programmes, content is mediated in the first and the additional language, accompanied by language education, and as the students’ become more proficient in the additional language,

the amount of teaching through their first language(s) is reduced, usually after the first two or three years of schooling (Ferguson 2006: 46). Different to this approach, in late exit programmes, the transition from learning/teaching in L1 to content mediation through an additional language happens more gradually, after the fifth or sixth grade (UNESCO 2010: 34). According to Walter (2010: 130f.), in a late exit transitional model, the pupils are likely to benefit from receiving instruction in two media after primary education, if providing them with effective learning of the additional medium as a subject in the first years to enable the development of sufficient proficiency in this language.

An approach which differs from (transitional) bilingual models in which two languages are used to varying degrees and for various purposes in educational contexts can be found in more language-acquisition-centred *immersion programmes*.

3.2.2. Immersion programmes

Multilingual approaches to education which entail instruction in content subjects exclusively through a pupils' second/foreign language might be referred to as immersion programmes (Cummins & Corson 1997: xii). The underlying idea of this language-in-education model is to "submerge" learners in a "total language bath" (Christ 1997: 9) in which they are expected to acquire the additional medium, similar to e.g. speakers of a minority language who experience school education in a country's majority language.

For instance García (2009: 126) and Baker (2006: 248) identify a number of common core features as well as variable characteristics of such "language bath" programmes. Among the former are e.g. the already mentioned use of a FL/L2 as MOI, the students' exposure to this tongue exclusively in the classroom, the fact that the learners start with "similar (limited or non-existent) levels of proficiency in the additional language" (García 2009: 126), and the fact that the teachers should be bilingual. The variable features include the grade in which immersion education is started, the proportion of exposure to the L1 and L2/FL in content learning throughout primary, secondary and tertiary level, the extent to which there is a continuity from pre-elementary to higher education, the amount of resources for and type of language learning support for pupils moving from their L1(s) to additional languages, the status of the language used in the immersion programme, and the commitment on the side of stakeholders such as politicians, administrators as well as teachers.

As indicated by this variety of features, *immersion education* can be seen as an umbrella term. According to Baker (2006: 245ff.), the stage in which an immersion experience begins belongs to the most determining characteristics. Thus, early, delayed/middle, and late immersion can be distinguished, the latter occurring at secondary

school level and being significantly influenced by the pupil's ability to cope with complex subject content in the additional language when leaving primary school and the availability of on-going, accompanying language learning support (Baker 2006: 274):

The more demanding the curriculum area, the higher the level of learning expected, and the later the switch to learning through a second language, the more important it is to provide “bridging programs”. Such programs ease the discrepancy between second language proficiency and the language proficiency required to understand the curriculum.

Apart from the age group of immersion learners, Obondo (1997: 28) emphasises the amount of time spent in the programme as an important factor and mentions challenges of a “late maximum exposure approach”, in which academic instructions at secondary level are entirely delivered in a L2/FL. According to Obondo, this model prevails especially in African school contexts because of the “overrating of foreign languages by the elite” and the widespread misconception that students can only learn an additional language when being totally exposed to the media in a majority of subjects, without any involvement of instruction in L1s.

3.2.3. Content-based instruction

Similar to immersion programmes, an additional medium is used in content-based instruction (CBI), however with the focus primarily set on the learning of content subjects, e.g. Science or History, rather than on language learning. This approach to education is to some extent related to CLIL (content and language integrated learning), although the latter is less meaning-centred and based on the idea of a simultaneous acquisition of both the subject content and the language through which it is conveyed. (Loewen & Reinders 2011: 41)

According to Crandall (1999: 604), additionally to the curriculum focus, another essential feature of CBI is the relevance of the use of the medium of instruction outside the classroom and school environment: such a programme prevails “in second language contexts where there is a widespread use of an official, national language for education” (ibid.), although it might also be encountered in foreign language contexts, especially at higher (tertiary) educational levels in which academic content is dealt with in additional languages which are commonly used at international level in certain disciplines. As stressed by Mohan (2001: 108), independently from the educational level, good teaching in a CBI approach means not only to mediate content but to help students to establish the “appropriate form-meaning relationships” necessary for becoming successful learners.

The by Mohan indicated link between language and content is also mentioned by Stroud (2002: 42), who notes that the roles assigned to various regional, national, and

supranational languages in multilingual societies also determine the application of these varieties in the education sector, in which more prestigious languages tend to serve as the media of instruction for the “serious curriculum”, whereas “local languages are reserved for the use with less academic content, such as social knowledge”. This division of labour between different languages within a school context can be found in e.g. ex-colonial African states, in which

Western metropolitan languages have always been regarded as better adapted for technological, scientific and educational uses, on the belief that indigenous languages are less complex therefore less able to express abstract, referential, and logical thought (Stroud 2002: 43).

Such a differentiated application of languages in plurilingual educational settings is not only observable in relation to different school subjects but might also be prevalent within one subject lesson, in which language use can spontaneously alter according to types of interaction, mediation of information and class management. This is referred to as *code-switching*, which implies the creative, active process of incorporating elements from two varieties in communication. This involves

momentary, rapid switching used interchangeably with code-mixing. [...] Code-switching is understood as an intersentential change, meaning that the switch in languages takes place between sentences. Code-mixing on the other hand, refers to an intrasentential change, which implies that the language switch takes place within the same sentence. (Kjolstad Gran 2007:20)

According to Baker (2006: 295), code-switching might arise “naturally, perhaps inevitably” in multilingual classrooms and approaches to education such as CBI, in which it can constitute a pragmatic strategy for dealing with the challenge of teaching/learning content through a language over which pupils, and maybe also teachers, lack sufficient control. Therefore, in more or less conscious ways the students’ first languages might find some functions in lessons taught in additional languages, e.g. as the media used in the management of instructional processes, in asking for or giving explanations, or in less formal/academic classroom activities (Canagarajah 2008: 131).

The selection and implementation of one of the multilingual approaches to education presented here are shaped by socio-cultural factors prevalent in the context in which a state’s education system is placed, which in turn has to be considered in its relation to political, economic, and historical developments on an international scale (Stroud 2002: 16). Therefore, the use of different media of communication in education, including decisions made at various levels of language policy and practice, can only be interpreted with reference to the

power of these languages/language varieties within a community, a country, or in the world as such:

A discussion of multilingual education should take place in a discourse of language and power, which would shift the terms of the debate away from an emphasis on the details of educational programmes to the more important, although also more elusive, framing conditions for multilingual education. In other words, in order to understand the nature of the problems in using certain languages in education, we need to understand the role played by multiple languages in mediating relationships of power between communities or social groups in contact. (Stroud 2002: 7f.)

Based on this perception of the importance of the correlating “framing” linguistic and non-linguistic conditions in the analysis of practices in a nation’s education system, part A of the theoretical considerations provided in this thesis offered the definition of relevant concepts for comprehending the significance of English as an international language, the dynamic processes involved in the selection of languages by/in societies, and the development of language policies in communities, especially school settings.

Referring to the macroacquisition and current role of English in school institutions around the world, McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008: 29) state that just as “the British could say at one point in history that the sun never set on the British empire, today [...] the sun never sets on English learning classrooms”, or on classrooms in which English serves as a medium of teaching and learning. Parts B and C will now focus on one state, i.e. Tanzania, as well as one specific domain, i.e. secondary education, in which the English language plays an important role. They are aimed at establishing the historical and social context in which the teachers’ perspectives on policy and practice that will be analysed in part B exist.

B) THE CONTEXT: TANZANIA

Language policy can be affected by “the widest range of conditions” (Spolsky 2004: 15), and, therefore, in a poliglossic society, in which at least two languages are assigned different positions and purposes, the use of these languages may highlight crucial political and social variables (Baldauf 1994: 83). To comprehend the link between socio-political developments and language use in the country, this section, at first, introduces historical, geographical, demographic and cultural characteristics of Tanzania, before presenting an overview of important, far-reaching language-in-education developments during and particularly after the period of colonialism.

4. Introducing Tanzania

4.1. Geographical, historical, and socio-cultural features

Tanzania, officially referred to as the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), is an East African state sharing the borders with Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi in the south, with the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda in the west, and with Uganda and Kenya in the north, while being bordered by the Indian Ocean in the east (TGP⁴).

The URT is the 14th largest African country (ranking 31th in the world), displaying one of the world's highest birth rates. Between 2002, the year of the penultimate Population and Housing Census, and 2012, the population increased by 30 per cent, with the highest population growth rates recorded in urban areas (URT 2012: 17). – “This rate is high even by African standards” (URT 2012: iii). According to the World Population Review (2014), the estimated number of people living in the United Republic of Tanzania in 2014 was 50 million. Currently, 45 per cent of all Tanzanians are under the age of 15 and 3 per cent has reached the age of 60 (URT 2012: 29f.). The whole population is unevenly distributed, with about 80 per cent of all people residing in rural areas, which, according to factors such as infrastructure, education, health and poverty reduction, are classified as “non-modernising” (Wedgwood 2005: 2).

The name of the URT derives from its two parts, mainland Tanganyika and the semi-autonomous island Zanzibar, the former having become independent in 1961 and the latter in 1963, before the two sovereign states were united in 1964 (TGP). Apart from the establishment of settlements and trading towns along the coast and on Zanzibar by Arabs starting in the early 8th century, as well the short-time occupation of the island by the Portuguese in the 17th century, the (documented) history of Tanzania is said to have “started with the European colonialists” (TGP).

Explorations inland were started by Europeans, including Christian missionaries, in the mid-nineteenth century (Odhiambo et al. 1987: 99f.). The German Colonisation Society was particularly interested in the mainland and, after the formal establishment of German East Africa as a colony in 1867, began to acquire territory in 1884. Zanzibar became a British protectorate in 1890 (Collins & Burns 2007: 275). Later, during the First World War, the division of power and land between Europeans in Africa changed, and the British gained control over German East Africa in 1916 (Collins & Burns 2007: 307). After the end of the First World War, in 1919, Britain was given a mandate for the administration of Tanganyika

⁴ Tanzania Government Portal (official website)

(formally part of German East Africa) by the League of Nations, and after the Second World War, in 1946, Tanganyika was declared a UN trust territory (Shillington 2012: 445f.). Fifteen years later, in a constitutional conference in 1961, Tanganyika was given full independence.

Today, the United Republic of Tanzania is comprised of 30 regions on the mainland, with Dodoma in the centre of the country as the political capital and Dar es Salaam situated at the coast as the largest and main commercial city of the nation. It is the biggest country in East Africa, “richly endowed with natural resources” (TGP), and characterised by different landscapes, starting with tropical coastal plains in the east, national parks as well as dry zones inland, uplands especially in the south and high mountains, particularly Mount Kilimanjaro, in the north(east). Lake Victoria is Africa’s biggest lake and, like the Kilimanjaro region or the spice islands and beaches of Zanzibar, among the country’s main tourist attractions.

Besides tourism as a business domain and source of income for Tanzanians and non-Tanzanian hotel owners in some parts of the URT, agriculture constitutes the country’s main economic sector, in which approximately 80 per cent of the population is involved: “farming is the way of life to most people in Tanzania, either on the large estates or small holdings run by a single family” (URT 2012: vi). Cashew nuts, tea, coconuts, tobacco, fruits, vegetables and coffee are among the most prominent cash crops, with the latter being exported in considerable amounts.

While the majority of Tanzanians share the same work life as they engage in farming to make their own living and feed their families, from a cultural perspective, the country can be described as belonging to the most diverse parts of Africa, consisting of more than 120 ethnic groups, who together speak about 158⁵ different local languages (TGP). 99 per cent of the country’s population are native Tanzanians, about 90 per cent of them members of Bantu tribes (Gibbe 2000: 61). Approximately one per cent of the population living on the mainland and on the island of Zanzibar can be considered African- or non-African foreigners, either coming from neighbouring countries (e.g. Burundi) or belonging to small Asian (especially Chinese and Indian), Arabic and European communities currently residing in the URT (URT 2012: v). Tanzanian culture today has been shaped by African, Indian, Arab and European influences, which is also reflected in the religious orientations present in the country, where Christians, Muslims and people practicing indigenous religions live together (TGP).

⁵ This number given on the URT official website relates to the most recent survey on Tanzania’s linguistic situation. Slightly diverging numbers of local languages found in the country appear in reports presented e.g. by Petzell (2012: 187), who explains that the reason for these differences lay in the difficulty of unambiguously distinguishing between Tanzanian languages and dialects, the former tending to exist in dialect continua.

Having introduced the United Republic of Tanzania in its geographical, demographic and socio-cultural characteristics, the following section will concentrate on one aspect of the country's multifaceted culture: language.

4.2. Linguistic profile

To grasp the uniqueness of the linguistic situation found across the African continent and within single countries, such as the URT, Brock-Utne (2011: 4) highlights the continual significance of African varieties despite the (historical) influence of European languages, and states that “Africa is not Francophone, Anglophone or Lusophone; Africa is Afrophone as Africans are normally multilingual in African languages”.

Similar to a number of African countries, Tanzania “boasts a wealth of indigenous languages” (Gibbe 2000: 60), spoken by the great variety of ethnic groups or *tribes*, as the people themselves refer to their communities who reside in relatively clearly defined areas. However, different to many states in Africa, Tanzania “has in Kiswahili a unifying African lingua franca” (Kjolstad Gran 2007: 6), which, according to the National Kiswahili Council, is spoken by approximately 95 per cent of the population for intra-national communication, in most cases (especially in rural parts of the country) as a second language, and by some Tanzanians growing up in urban areas as a first language. Therefore, with the vast majority of Tanzanians using local languages at home and Kiswahili for inter-tribal, national communication, the country can be identified as displaying societal bi- or plurilingualism (Kaduma 2005: 28). Additionally, since colonial times and due to its present global status, English occupies an official role in formal domains within the URT (among the elites) and especially in international relations between Tanzania and other (African) countries (Vavrus 2002: 374). Furthermore, Arabic, like the English language “backed by external economies” (Gibbe 2000: 59), has been gaining importance since the 1980s, particularly on the island of Zanzibar in sectors such as the economy and education.

As far as the official language policy of diglossic (or triglossic, if considering the use of local languages, Kiswahili, and English) Tanzania is concerned, the government's official website states that Kiswahili is the widely spoken national and official language, “the medium at primary school level, in social and political spheres” (TGP), while English is the co-official language of administration, business and higher education. However, while Blommaert (2005: 389) or Hassana (2006a: 5) stress that post-colonial Tanganyika was one of the first states to pursue an endoglossic policy in assigning an African variety the status of the national language of a country, and since then has successfully promoted the use of Kiswahili in

official domains such as education and administration, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2005:2) define the country's current policy regarding language use as being "contradictory" or "ambiguous". They especially highlight the fact that the issue of language is actually not mentioned in the constitution: while the constitution of the URT from 1962 states that Kiswahili and English function as official languages, since then, it has been changed thirteen times, the last time in 2001, when all constitutional comments on language disappeared. Nevertheless, local languages, Kiswahili and English, all in varying degrees and domains, are still present in daily life in Tanzania, forming the country's "three-language model" (Petzell 2012: 141).

4.2.1. Kiswahili

Kiswahili, widely used in all public settings, has developed into the most prevalent African language in Tanzania through a long history, which started already in the 9th century, when the language was used by people living in East African coastal regions, and became especially significant in the 19th century when Kiswahili began to "spread into the interior of East Africa" (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2005:2) with the advent of traders, foreign missionaries, explorers and colonialists (Kiango 2005: 157). As, originally, Kiswahili was the language of the Swahili people (belonging to the Bantu), who are still residing on the island of Zanzibar and along the coast of Tanzania, in lexical elements and structure, the language is related to a great number of Tanzania's local varieties that are part of the Bantu family (Gibbe 2000: 61). However, as far as vocabulary is concerned, the language also draws on English lexicon, particularly in domains such as technology or media, and displays borrowings from Arabic that can be traced back to the history of coastal trade (Kaduma 2005: 28).

It is the contact between the local population and Arabic traders that the term *Swahili*, "which is derived from the plural form *sawahil* of Arabic *coast*" (Polomé 1980: 79) refers to. Today, as far as the steadily growing number of speakers is concerned, Kiswahili is the largest among all Bantu languages, which belong to the Niger-Congo linguistic family. However, this relates to Kiswahili as an additional rather than as a first language, as about 80 million people in 14 countries use the variety as a second language, while it is the mother tongue of only 8 million speakers (Petzell 2012: 137). Today, Kiswahili is spoken i.a. in Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, as well as in the DRC, and, therefore, functions as the main lingua franca in Central and East Africa (Wolff 2000: 322). Additionally, Kiswahili has gained an official status not only in the East African Community but also in the African Union, in which it is considered one of the five main languages (Kiango 2005: 157).

With reference to the context of Tanzania, as already indicated, Kiswahili is officially the country's language of Parliament and of lower courts, as well as the medium of learning at primary school level (Brock-Utne 2002: 1). Concerning the many local languages, Petzell (2012: 139) explains that, apart from their absence in radio broadcasting, television or newspapers, they are also hardly used in other public areas: their application in education is prohibited, and "discouraged in political and religious meetings". Also, according to Brock-Utne (2002: 1), while the majority of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili as an additional language, the number of people living in the URT who learn it as a first language is growing, especially in urban areas.

The prominent role of Kiswahili in public settings can be assumed to be related to its historical and present function in unifying all peoples living in the URT (Holmes 2001: 101). In the middle of the 1950s, the language helped to work for freedom and independence, which has guaranteed it loyalty and widespread acceptance. In present times, the language is successful because of its "neutral status" (Holmes 2001: 104) in the multiethnic state: "Kiswahili is seen as the unifying language of the country between people of different ethnic groups, who have their own language" (TGP). Furthermore, as a symbol of nationality, Kiswahili has evolved into "the identifying code of public activities throughout Tanzania" (Blommaert 2005: 399).

Apart from its sentimental value, Kiswahili, as the main medium of communication in cultural and socio-economic domains, is used by political and religious leaders because of its intelligibility in the whole URT (Gibbe 2000: 58). Furthermore, it constitutes the dominant (pan-African) language in broadcasting and private as well as public print media, also i.a. in the DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, and Kenya, in which it has obtained an important national and international status (Kiango 2005: 163f.). Additionally, according to Mulokozi (2002: 8), today, Kiswahili is the most widely learnt African language, as it is taught in more than 100 higher education institutions across the globe, most of which are situated in East and Central Africa, and some in non-African countries such as in the U.K., in France, Germany, Austria and Norway.

4.2.2. English in Tanzania

Different to Kiswahili as the nation's symbol of traditional values, English is perceived in Tanzania as the key prerequisite for technological, scientific innovations as well as economic advancement, and is widely associated with "Western" values and the country's potential development as such (Petzell 2012: 141). Indeed, on the official website of the URT

Government it is stated that “English serves the purpose of providing Tanzanians with the ability to participate in the global economy and culture” (TGP). Therefore, according to Petzell (2012: 141), today, the former colonial language, which is currently the medium of foreign trade, High Court, higher education and diplomacy in the URT, is seen as “a magical key to social prestige and power”.

Throughout history, in which languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, French and Spanish functioned as influential imperial tools in the establishment and control of the plurilingual, colonially defined African states, English has gained the status of one of the most powerful European languages on the African continent (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2005:1). Also in Tanzania, English arrived “with a dominant external power”(Gibbe 2000: 58) when it was introduced by the British at the beginning of the 1920s. However, compared to i.a. Kenya or countries in West Africa, since Tanzania’s gain of independence, the position of English in the state has been less prominent, and, at the end of the 20th century, the language had not yet achieved a substantial number of speakers among the population (Schneider 2007: 194). Consequently, English in the URT can be defined as occupying more the role of an international medium rather than the one of a second language (Vavrus 2002: 374).

Among the approximately five per cent of indigenous Tanzanians who master and regularly use the English language are politicians, business people, diplomats, the clergy, lawyers, and intellectuals working in schools or academic circles (Gibbe 2000: 58). A small but powerful number of people. Therefore, in Tanzania, English has an elitist position and is not really spoken by the majority of the population in daily life activities. This is also the reason why an “acknowledged variety of Tanzanian English” (Petzell 2012: 142) has not yet developed and in educational institutions British Standard English is taught.

5. Education in Tanzania

The education sector of the URT is mainly managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) as well as the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, while other ministries are in charge of specific professional training, and communities as well as NGOs are involved in (non-formal) education at more local levels, in cooperation with central government bodies (MoEC 1995: 11). Although, since the 1960s, several reforms have been initiated by the Government, it is still the *Education and Training Policy* of 1995, issued by the MoEC, which provides the major structural and political guidelines for Tanzania’s current education system (Kjølstad Gran 2007:11f.), for which, in its preamble, it defines the main objectives:

Education is a process by which the individual acquires knowledge and skills necessary for appreciating and adapting the environment and the ever-changing social, political and economic conditions of society and as a means by which one can realize one's full potential (MoEC 1995).

5.1. Present school system

In Tanzania, formal schooling is organised in successive levels, starting with non-compulsory pre-primary education for children between the ages of five and six, which is provided in a relatively small number of pre-schools and kindergartens situated particularly in urban areas (MoEC 1995: 2). According to the URT official website, pre-primary education is “intended to promote the overall personality development of the child, physical, mental, moral and social characteristics and capabilities” (TGP).

Obligatory, free primary education consists of seven years (Standard 1 to Standard 7) and functions as the main “delivery system for basic education for children outside the family” (MoEC 1995: 4). Its objective is to provide all Tanzanian citizens with the socio-cultural foundations for individual, life-long learning processes, as well as secondary education or work life (TGP). Students who finish primary school may proceed to secondary school level after the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE).

The national, fee-based secondary education programmes are structured according to two levels: Ordinary Level from Form 1 to Form 4, and Advanced Level from Form 5 to Form 6. While pupils who leave secondary school after having completed Form 4 (O-level) may enter the workforce or begin vocational training, A-level graduates are allowed to proceed with tertiary (university) education. (MoEC 1995: 7ff.)

As far as language in the school system is concerned, the Ministry of Education and Culture stresses the importance of training Tanzanian pupils in both Kiswahili and English:

Mastery of Kiswahili consolidates Tanzanian culture while the English language will access Tanzanians to knowledge, understanding, science and technology, and communication with other communities (MoEC 1995: 52).

Today, while the two languages are taught as compulsory subjects in primary and secondary school, Kiswahili is used as the medium of learning and teaching at primary level while English is the language of instruction in post-primary education, except for academic courses at the Kiswahili Department of the University of Dar es Salaam. This present situation is the result of socio-political changes in Tanzania⁶ throughout the last 150 years, which have been

⁶ During colonial times, the mainland of present-day Tanzania was first considered part of German East Africa and later called *Tanganyika*. However, to avoid confusion, in the following section, the current name *Tanzania* will be used to refer to the country's territory, also when related to pre-colonial or colonial times.

shaped by multiple internal and external forces and affirm what has already been indicated in section A) of this thesis: “the choice of language of instruction [...] is a political choice that may redistribute power in a global context as well as within a country, between the elites and the masses” (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2005: 1). The most important, far-reaching economic-political decisions which have been involved in language-in-education developments in Tanzania will be briefly presented in the following section.

5. 2. Language-in-education developments

Plurilingual African states commonly face the difficult task of choosing the languages which should function as the media of instruction in national education programmes. If a country has no “neutral” lingua franca at its disposal, “any choice will be seen to favour certain ethno-linguistic groups at the expense of all others” (Sa 2007: 2). In Tanzania, education involving pupils belonging to different local communities became only necessary with the arrival of colonialism and Western ideas of learning, when formal schooling was introduced and children of different linguistic backgrounds were taught in the same classrooms. In the African context, in many cases, colonisers dealt with the “problem of multilingualism” (Sa 2007: 2) in educational settings by opting for the provision of schooling solely in European languages. However, throughout the history of colonial, post-colonial and present-day mainland Tanzania, the choice of media of instruction has been less clear.

5.2.1. Pre-colonial period

Before colonial times, the territory of present-day Tanzania was inhabited by many separate local communities (tribes), who used their own languages for communication and the education of their children (Kjolstad Gran 2007: 8). They had their own informal systems of learning and teaching, especially in the context of the family or clan, which, as stated by the MoEC (1995), “emphasized the acquisition of life skills and perpetuation of valued customs and traditions”. The children learned by doing and living within their own communities, and no necessity of language planning was felt (Nyerere 1967: 2). Additionally, inter-tribal communication was possible to varying degrees because of the fact that some languages were mutually intelligible and that, due to trading caravans, Kiswahili began to spread from the coastal regions into the mainland in the late 9th century (Mulokozi 2002: 1).

5.2.2. Colonial times

As already mentioned in the first introduction of basic socio-cultural and historical features of the URT, Tanzania was under German colonial rule from 1885 to 1918 before the British

colonial government took over in 1919 and controlled the country until 1961 (Kiango 2005: 158). Both the German and the British colonisers had different ways of designing and providing educational programmes, and, in this context, of dealing with language-in-education questions and policies, respectively.

German colonial rule

After initial attempts of introducing German as the official medium of communication in the occupied territory and of avoiding the use of the with the Islam affiliated Kiswahili language had failed, the German colonisers hardly tried to advance their language in the country and rather preferred the use of Kiswahili in nationwide administration and education (Petzell 2012: 137). While German was taught as a subject, Kiswahili became the medium of teaching and learning in the four years of primary school, which was provided for a small number of children, particularly in coastal areas (Ssekamwa & Lugumba 2001: 85). Furthermore, the colonial government transliterated the script from Arabic to Roman alphabet (Kjølstad Gran 2007: 8).

Apart from the need to adopt the African language in order to be able to “pacify the coastal people, most of whom where Muslim and spoke Kiswahili” (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2005:2), one possible reason for the Germans’ choice of Kiswahili in public spheres could be that the local chiefs, who did not master the German language, were made administrators of their communities at village level. Moreover, the goal of the governmental schools was the education of people for the work in the colonial bureaucracy, for which the use of Kiswahili, already spoken by many of the potential employees, proved practical. Regardless of the German rulers’ intentions behind opting for Kiswahili in education and administration, “their use of the language is the main reason why it became the uniting lingua franca for Tanzania” (Kjølstad Gran 2007: 8).

Additionally, despite its historical association with the Islam, already since the mid-nineteenth century, Christian missionaries from Germany and other European countries had been experiencing the advantage of spreading the gospel through Kiswahili, a language that an increasing number of people understood (Blommaert 194: 216). Therefore, alphabetisation, translations (e.g. of the Bible) and book printing became part of missionary activities (Mulokozi 2002: 1).

British colonial rule

Through the Treaty of Versailles, the British gained control over Tanganyika in 1919. They retained Kiswahili as the language of administration at district level and of teaching and

learning in the first five forms of primary school, but decided to use English for national administration as well as for the last three forms of primary and the whole secondary education (Petzell 2012: 137). Apart from the expansion of the school system (primary and secondary schools), the British colonial government developed separate education programmes for European, African and Asian pupils. Furthermore, the British rulers did not aim at equally providing schooling in the whole country, as made obvious in the *Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika* issued by the colonial government: while the whole population should have the chance to attend primary education, only four per cent should go to secondary school, as the intention was to concentrate only on a small number of elite Tanzanians who should be trained to assist in the administration (Wedin 2005: 570).

In 1954, the political party and nationalist movement TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) started to fight for independence from the British and used Kiswahili as a unifying tool for reaching and representing all ethnic groups in the country. TANU was founded by the former secondary school teacher Julius Nyerere, who pursued the idea of the country being united through *ujamaa*, a socialist programme of self-reliance and development. He became the first leader of independent Tanganyika in 1961. (Vavrus 2002: 375f.)

5.2.3. After colonialism

According to Kaduma (2005: 33), when the TANU was founded in 1954, only few people living in Tanganyika's hinterland spoke Kiswahili really fluently:

It was basically the coastal and urbanized people as well as the children going to school who knew Kiswahili. In fact, during that time, some so-called "Bush Schools" taught in the local tribal languages. Even church songs were written in the local languages.

After Tanganyika's gain of independence in 1961, the Ministry of Education abolished the use of all Asian and local languages from primary school curricula, and, consequently, "English and Kiswahili were made the only media of instruction at this level" (Kjolstad Gran 2007: 8). Kadege (2003: 173) defines the years from 1961 to 1967 as a period of harmonious coexistence of Kiswahili and English, while, at the same time, the former was widely considered as a symbol of pride and African nationalism. In 1962, Kiswahili was declared to be the national language of the country, and the Prime Minister announced that Kiswahili should be used in all public domains, which resulted in the language's growing prestige (Kaduma 2005: 34). In the same year, Julius Nyerere addressed the Parliament in Kiswahili as the first President of independent Tanganyika.

In 1967, the period of “the struggle of Kiswahili against English” (Kadeghe 2003: 173) began: Kiswahili was made the official language of administration and officially adopted as the medium of instruction throughout primary education, which further “elevated it from its status of a second-class language” (Hassana 2006a: 24). This decision was followed by the training of teachers and other preparations such as the production of textbooks in Kiswahili, supported by supplies by the Tanzanian Publishing House, which the Government had founded in the same year (Kaduma 2005: 34). The increasingly important role of Kiswahili became especially obvious when bodies such as the National Kiswahili Council, responsible for the development of the language, were established (Kianga 2005: 161).

Political decisions in 1967 were based on the ideas of nation-building, promotion of Kiswahili in all public spheres, and the adaption of the (primary) education system to the country’s needs and local circumstances, which Julius Nyerere presented in his book “Education for Self-Reliance” (Blommaert 1994: 217). The President’s general idea was to develop primary schooling for the vast majority of Tanzanians rather than concentrating on higher education for a small elite (Vavrus 2002: 376). In his book, Nyerere sharply criticised the fact that, in independent Tanzania, Western views on schooling still prevailed, which were related to the British education system that had been introduced by the former colonial government (Nyerere 1967: 3). He intended “to make the education provided in all schools much more Tanzanian in content” (Nyerere 1967: 4) and, therefore, to change the curricula for governmental schools: they should draw on the country’s national experience and equip students with the necessary skills for an agrarian-based life (Sahle 2002: 92). Furthermore, Nyerere planned to restructure the management of the country’s school institutions, so as to involve local people and economies (Nyerere 1967: 17). Based on the aspiration of the dissemination of socialist values and the orientation of the education system towards rural life, his general idea was that

[t]he education provided in Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purpose of Tanzania. [...] It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and the problems of co-operations. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation. (Nyerere 1967: 25).

However, despite President Nyerere’s idea of repositioning the school system in Tanzania from the new perspective of self-reliance, for which the complete Kiswahilisation of education had been foreseen, and his desire of freedom from former colonial ties, English was maintained as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and higher education

institutions (Blommaert 1994: 217).

In 1969, a government plan, namely the second *Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974*, proposed the use of Kiswahili as the medium of teaching and learning also at post-primary level (Mulokozi 2002: 3). Consequently, the heads of all schools received a circular in which the Ministry of Education advised the gradual shift in the language of instruction, beginning in 1970 with the subjects Kiswahili and Political Science (*siasa*) and continuing with the adoption of Kiswahili for all subjects in the first two forms by 1973 (Roy-Campbell 2001: 88). While the plans for the year 1970 were realised, however, other reforms were stopped and Tanzanian educators were kept waiting for the anticipated change in the medium of instruction in all subjects of post-primary education to be implemented. This was the start of a “period of confusion” (Kadeghe 2003: 173), in which linguists and politicians began to have divergent opinions and the further advancement of Kiswahili in the education system was prevented by political decisions.

President Nyerere appointed a Presidential Commission on Education in 1980, which, after 16 months of reviewing the national school and training system, presented a range of recommendations related to the state of education in the country. Among these, two main recommendations concerning language and education were made: the strengthening of the teaching of Kiswahili and English was suggested and the potential positive effect of the adoption of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary schools and higher education institutions reaffirmed (Kianga 2005: 160). Government’s reactions to the report followed only in 1984. In the meantime, in 1982, Tanzania faced the peak of the country’s economic crisis which had started in the mid 1970s, and the structural adjustment plans imposed on the country by the World Bank affected economic, social and educational sectors (Wedin 2005: 570). Fees for governmental schools were introduced (later abolished in 2002) and the management of education institutions by private and nongovernmental organisations was allowed (Vavrus 2002: 376f.). The Government’s attitude towards the English language changed: simultaneously with the decrease of national resources for public schools and the increasing dependency on foreign financial support, the language “regained respectability in the eyes of Tanzanian policy makers” (Blommaert 1994: 219).

In 1984, the Government publicly responded to the Commission’s report of 1981, but without mentioning any intentions of considering the recommendations regarding the mediums of instruction used in the Tanzanian education system (Roy-Campbell 2001: 93f.). According to Brock-Utne (2002: 3), it was not the Ministry of Education, who also chaired the Commission, but the Government who decided to stop the advancement of Kiswahili-

medium higher education: “the decision seems to have been taken by Nyerere himself, partly with the support of the British Council”. Later in the same year, after the National Conference on Education, President Nyerere announced the decision to maintain English as the language of teaching and learning at post-primary level, and offered the following explanation:

English is the Kiswahili of the world and for that reason it must be taught and given the weight it deserves in our country. [...] It is wrong to leave English to die. To reject English is foolishness not patriotism. [...] English will be the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher education because if it is left only as a normal subject it might die. (quoted in Roy-Campbell 1992: 188)

The motivations behind this change of heart were not evident. Two of the possible reasons for the maintenance of the former colonial language as the medium of instruction at all post-primary levels are the Government’s fear of not being able to meet the increasing demand for secondary schools which the shift from English to Kiswahili could have caused, or the high costs of the production of new educational materials (Roy-Campbell 2001: 106f.). Another aspect which is still crucial in the present-day URT is related to Tanzania’s gradual shift towards a liberalised economy (Kadeghe 2003: 172): President Nyerere and reformists were afraid that through the reduction of English to a mere school subject the language would lose its functionality and “die”, and, consequently, the country “would be left behind in a global context where English dominates” (ibid.).

In July and August 1984, empirical research on English language levels across the national education system, which was funded by the British Government, was carried out by the linguist Dr. Criper from the University of Edinburgh and Mr. Dodd, an experienced Tanzanian administrator (Rubanza 1996: 93). The findings reaffirmed earlier studies showing that in most schools the pupils’ levels of English were not sufficiently high to enable effective learning through that language: “only about 10% of Form IVs are at a level that one might expect English medium to begin” (Criper & Dodd 1984: 14, quoted in Brock-Utne 2002: 4). The experienced weak student performance was partly associated with low English language competence levels on the part of the teachers (John 2014: 166). Based on these results, Criper and Dodd presented their conclusion to the Ministry of Education, giving the maybe paradoxical advice of further developing English-medium instruction throughout the education system and of strategically strengthening the teaching of the English language (Roy-Campbell 2001: 102f.).

Shortly after Criper and Dodd had concluded their study, the British Overseas Development Administration started to develop, in cooperation with the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and the British Council, the *English Language Teaching Support Programme*

(ELTSP), which was funded by the British Government and established in the URT in 1986 (Hunter 2009: 67). Part of the ELTSP was the provision of textbooks, teaching aids, and educational materials, which are still used today for the pupils' preparation for English-medium instruction at secondary level (Rubanza 1996: 93).

In 1993, the report *Tanzania Education System for the 21st century*, released by the Ministry of Education, stated that “until such a time when Kiswahili is ready to be the dominant medium of instruction” (MoEC 1993: 23), the use of English as the medium of instruction should be continued. This may be an indication for the Government's idea about Kiswahili not being sufficiently developed in lexicon or grammar to be used to express complex systems of knowledge and function as the language of teaching and learning at higher educational levels (Mchombo 2014: 29). In the same year, the English-medium subject Civics replaced the subject *siasa*, which had been taught in secondary schools through Kiswahili (Mwinsheikhe 2003: 133).

The official language-in-education policy of present-day Tanzania is the one established in two policy documents, namely the *Education and Training Policy* and the *Cultural Policy*. As mentioned in 5.1, the former was issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1995 and states that Kiswahili should be the language of instruction at pre-primary and primary level (MoEC 1995: 39), while

[t]he medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to Ordinary level (MoEC 1995: 45).

Inaugurated in Dodoma in 1997, the *Cultural Policy* also includes statements on language in Tanzania, which were aimed at clarifying i.a. the Government's position concerning the role of different media of communication and instruction within the education system (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2005:3). The first two pages refer to the country's national language as well as to local languages:

Kiswahili shall be pronounced the National Language and this pronouncement shall be incorporated in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (MoEC 1997:1)

Our people shall continue to use and be proud of their vernacular languages. [...] Public and private organisations shall be encouraged to publish and disseminate vernacular language materials. (MoEC 1997: 2)

Related to the use of languages in the educational context, the document contains three main statements:

English shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education (MoEC 1997: 2).

A special programme to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented (MoEC 1997: 3).

Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education (MoEC 1997: 3).

Reading the *Cultural Policy*, especially the second of the here cited statements, it becomes obvious that in 1997 the Tanzanian Government again repeated their idea that Kiswahili should become the language of instruction also at post-primary level. As stressed by Kadeghe (2003: 174), the content of this policy document closely resembles previous directives and proclamations, which, however, had all not been realised.

In the Tanzanian ESDP *Education Sector Development Programme* (MoEC 2001) released in 2001, the use of English as the language of instruction is mentioned in the list of strengths of the education offered in the current national secondary schools, and today, despite all the developments presented in this section, the official language-in-education situation in Tanzania is the same as it was in 1967, shortly after the nation's gain of independence (Sa 2007: 6). Questions concerning the languages used throughout the school system remain both ideological and political (John 2014: 164), and, "with national budgets inadequate for bilingual programs that use local languages" (Tollefson & Tsui 2004: 287), development agencies as well as the World Bank continue to occupy an influential role in decision-making in the country.

The developments delineated in this section clearly show that in Tanzania, like in many sub-Saharan African countries, the replacement of the colonial governmental system by African leaders did not automatically lead to the adoption of indigenous varieties in official positions that had been occupied by colonial languages. Kadeghe (2003: 172) explains that,

[d]espite the withdrawal of the British colonial administration, the English language had to be retained as a kind of oil that kept the administrative, political, legal, and education system running smoothly. [...] A suitable "linguistic infrastructure" was required for integrating Third World countries into a Western consumer economy for them to enjoy the benefit of socioeconomic progress.

Related to the here indicated fear of formerly colonised countries of becoming isolated from non-African economies and the international community, Wolff (2006: 186) especially mentions two main reasons for the retention of English as the dominant medium of learning and teaching in the Tanzanian education system: the "tremendous power and prestige" of

English in the global market, and politicians' ideas of promoting bilingualism among young citizens. Since the country's gain of independence, English in Tanzania has gained in socio-economic value and is widely equated with education and, related to this, with a "gateway to social rewards" (John 2014: 163). As a consequence, although Kiswahili, one of Africa's most widely spoken languages, has been Tanzania's official and national language for decades, English has remained the medium of instruction at post-primary school level.

C) THE FOCUS: ENGLISH-MEDIUM SECONDARY EDUCATION

Having introduced the United Republic of Tanzania in its demographical, historical, social, and linguistic features, including the nation's present education system, this section now aims at providing some very specific theoretical information for the actual focus of this thesis, i.e. English-medium secondary education, concentrating on for the empirical study relevant aspects of the organisation of secondary schooling in Tanzania and on practices related to the use of English in teaching and learning.

The previous section has already presented important language-in-education developments, and, in this way, has also revealed the current official MOI policy for secondary schools in Tanzania, which, as emphasised, "must be seen in light of ideological assumptions about the symbolic role of languages in particular contexts" (Tollefson & Tsui 2004: 285). The (economic) context of the secondary education system dealt with in this thesis is the one of a country which is among the 20 poorest in the world, with a wide and steadily increasing "disparity between the rich and poor" (World Bank 2008a: 33). While, on the one hand, post-primary education is crucial for individual and social development, as well as for economic growth (URT 2012: 30), on the other hand, Tanzania, which spends six times more on debt servicing than on education, currently lacks resources for the provision of adequate social services such as equally accessible schooling:

Secondary education continues to be heavily underfunded. In 2009, it absorbed 13,5 percent of education public resources; a level far below countries that are equally close to achieving universal primary education. (URT 2012: 15)

The organisation and management of the secondary school system which has developed in this challenging environment will be presented in the following sections.

6. Enrolment rates and school types

Although, as indicated in the latest Education Sector Analysis, pupil enrolment in Tanzania has increased at all educational levels in the last ten years, access to secondary education has remained difficult for many children (URT 2012: 19). While, in 2012, an average of 77 per cent of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 were actually enrolled in primary schools (91 per cent in urban and 72 per cent in rural areas), considering the enrolment rates of 2009⁷, half of them were expected to continue with secondary education (URT 2014: vi). Furthermore, according to the latest data, an approximate number of 23 per cent of secondary pupils had managed to reach the last grade of the O-level in 2009, while 5 per cent were about to continue with A-level courses (URT 2012: 21). These rates correlate with the small number of all Tanzanians who actually had obtained post-primary education at the time of the Census in 2012: while 82 per cent had been to primary school, 14 per cent of the population were secondary school graduates, and 2 per cent had a university degree (URT 2014: 99).

As indicated by these numbers, Tanzania displays low transition rates from primary to post-primary levels, with dropouts and repetition constituting major problems of the present school system (World Bank 2008a: v). Besides parents' challenge of being able to pay their children's school fees, school-internal factors contributing to the small number of pupils attending secondary schools include e.g. selection principles as well as quality, "since poor quality of schooling at one level does not prepare students sufficiently to continue at the next levels" (World Bank 2008a: xiv). As far as the high dropout rate at secondary school level is concerned, Tanzania's education system displays quite a significant urban-rural divide, with more pupils not reaching O-level (and, consequently, A-Level) in rural parts of the country (URT 2014: 90). In general, as observed by Wedgwood (2005: 5), there exists a great disparity between the quality of education provided in more wealthy urban areas and schooling in rural regions.

Overall, secondary schools, of which approximately 30 per cent are boarding schools (Osaki 2004: 3), are established and run by the Government as well as by religious institutions or other private national/international organisations (Semali 2014: 113). In 2009, 20 per cent of secondary pupils were enrolled in private institutions (URT 2012: 18), a number which has been increasing due to the dissatisfaction with Tanzania's education system on the part of many parents who believe that the quality of schooling offered especially in public

⁷ While providing a lot of information on primary school enrolment rates, the Education Sector Analysis (URT 2012) does not reveal the number of students who were obtaining secondary education at the time of the Census in 2012.

institutions has declined (Rubagumya 2003: 149f.).

In the case of both governmental and private schools, with the payment of varying levels of school fees, “parents are the dominant source of secondary education financing” (World Bank 2008b: xvii), providing 32 per cent of the country’s education expenditure (URT 2012: 17). Furthermore, with the exception of a small number of international schools, all public and private institutions follow the same national curriculum (Osaki 2004: 3).

7. Curriculum, textbooks, examination

7.1. Educational objectives

The aims of secondary education in Tanzania are included in the *Education and Training Policy* of 1995 (MoEC 1995: 51), which states that the formal curriculum should focus on “the teaching of languages, science and technology, humanities and life skills”. In a list of objectives, more specified aims are given, for instance, the consolidation of knowledge acquired at primary level, the further development of national identity and unity, the acquisition of skills in a variety of study fields, the training of communication skills, and the preparation for higher education or the world of work (MoCE 1995: 6f.).

Related to the achievement of these aims, the subjects offered at secondary level are very similar to those found in European post-primary education programmes, including i.a. History, Geography, Physics, Mathematics, which reveals, on the one hand, instances of colonial inheritance in the education sector, and, on the other hand, the present “Western” influence on the content taught in Tanzanian schools (Mchombo 2014: 34). Only Kiswahili as a subject and Civics seem to be really country-specific.

Furthermore, with regard to common teaching/learning procedures, Bamgbose (1991: 92) mentions that the syllabi used in the various subjects at secondary level are “examination syllabi”, which are aimed at covering the content and specific questions which pupils are expected to know in the national examinations at the end of each school year (Bamgbose 1991: 92). To do that, the Tanzanian Ministry of Education offers a list of approved textbooks from which all secondary schools can choose.

7.2. Textbooks

As emphasised by Mchombo (2014: 40), quality education requires a for economically weak countries challenging “massive financial investment”, starting with the development of educational programmes, the financing of buildings, the training of teachers, the payment of salaries, as well as the provision of educational materials. As far as the latter aspect is

concerned, approved textbooks which are currently used in Tanzanian public and private secondary schools are produced by both national and international publishers. They are mainly written in English, except for the materials for the teaching of languages other than English (e.g. Kiswahili), and tend to be unequally supplied in the different parts of the country.

The use of secondary school books designed and/or produced outside the URT has a long history, which started during the period of the British rule, in which the establishment of “colonial schools opened a huge textbook market for the British textbook industries” (Hassana 2004: 200f.). Today, more than 50 years after Tanzania’s gain of independence, transnational publishing companies still dominate the textbook market in the country, in which the retention of English as the medium of instruction at post-primary level has supported the continued use of non-African textbooks, and vice versa (Hassana 2004: 196).

Overseas publishers either import already printed schoolbooks, sometimes through development aid programmes, or they have established local subsidiaries in Tanzania (e.g. *Oxford University Press (T)* and *Longman Tanzania*) and collaborate with Tanzanian authors for the production of educational materials with content adapted to local conditions (World Bank 2008b: 12). However, despite the increasing number of O-level textbooks developed in the country, local publishing remains the exception, and the majority of the books officially recommended by the Ministry of Education are still UK-published, with “production standards designed for a UK/international market” (World Bank 2008b: 12). *Appendix A* shows some examples of such textbooks, which are currently used at secondary level for the subjects Civics (Forms 1 and 4) and Physics (Forms 1 and 2).

The textbooks presented in *Appendix A* were bought in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, in July 2014, at the standard cost of TZS 8000 (approx. €4) and TZS 15000 (approx. €7). By Tanzanian standards, especially for the population residing in rural areas who hardly have any money income, these costs are very high. Therefore, pupils are normally not able/expected to buy their own schoolbooks, and the provision of educational materials in secondary schools throughout the country is based on a “mixed financing system” (World Bank 2008b: 15), involving the Government, donors (NGOs) and the students’ families. However, due to the recent expansion of post-primary education on one side, and the “widespread low parental purchasing power as well as lack of sustainable government funding” (World Bank 2008b: 12) on the other side, the Tanzanian school system shows considerable textbook shortages (Semali 2014: 118). While urban schools tend to be better supplied, in institutions in rural parts of the country, pupils mainly have to rely on their teachers as the main provider of information, also in exam preparation (World Bank 2008b: xvii).

7.3. Exam system

Before entering secondary education, Standard 7 primary school children have to pass the PSLE, which is a national exam testing knowledge in all school subjects (Semali 2014: 113). As the PSLE functions as a mechanism for selecting secondary school entrants, test-takers have to reach a minimum pass mark on the basis of which public and secondary schools decide whether to accept a pupil or not. While, theoretically, all governmental schools have the same entry requirements, private schools set their own standards, which, provided that there are still enough fee-paying pupils to cover the costs, they try to keep high (RD⁸ 23/08/2014). Later, throughout the seven years of junior secondary school (O-level), there are different types of exams, of which the MOCK, the end-of-year, and the O-level exam constitute the most important ones.

In the annual MOCK examination, which takes place in August and lasts more than a week, secondary school pupils are tested in all subjects, two per day, 2.5 hours each. It involves all public and private secondary schools and is organised according to districts. Some weeks before the exam date, every school sends questions to the district MOCK department. Then, a couple of teachers are chosen to come to the district capital where they sit and put together the exam. For the correction of the exam papers, another group of teachers is selected. (RD 23/08/2014)

Some months after the MOCK examination, in November, all pupils of public and private secondary schools have to take their national end-of-year exam, which they have to pass in order to be allowed to continue with the next form. However, like in the case of the PSLE, pass marks in private schools are higher than in governmental schools, which considerably influences the quality and standard of education in the two types of institutions. If pupils fail the end-of-year exam, they are normally asked to leave the school, and only in rare cases, mostly in private schools, they are given the permission to repeat the year. Those who have not passed and are excluded from governmental schools are sometimes accepted by private schools which allow them to repeat the year against payment there. (RD 23/08/2014)

The O-level examination is also national, and marks the end of junior secondary education. For many pupils, it constitutes the end of secondary education as such, as only very few continue with A-level courses, which are only offered in a small number of urban secondary school institutions in Tanzania. The O-level exam covers the syllabus of the first four forms of secondary school, and, therefore, preparations already start weeks before the

⁸ As will be further explained in part II (research procedure), the notes included in the research diary which are presented as source of information here are referred to in the following way: the abbreviated title RD followed by the date of entry.

exam takes place. Concerning the repetition of failed exams/school years, the same strict rules as in the case of the annual end-of-year examination apply. However, if pupils who have not passed the O-level exam are allowed to retake it in another institution, they have to pay extra, as the Government and school fees only cover one O-level exam. (RD 23/08/2014)

Copies included in *Appendix A* show a couple of pages of the 2014 Form 2 MOCK examination of one Tanzanian district, and reveal some of the most often used types of questions and tasks in different examinations at secondary level: multiple-choice, cloze sentences, short questions, true-or-false questions, sentence completion etc. This shows that, in testing, the Tanzanian secondary school system focuses on questions which “require stating the answers in single words or in very short phrases” (Borck-Utne 2004: 75). Apart from facilitating the correction procedure of large numbers of exam papers, one reason of this preference might be language. In post-primary education only English is accepted as the language used in exams because the national marking regulations say that answers given in Kiswahili are not counted as correct (Brock-Utne 2004: 76). Due to the pupils’ generally low English proficiency levels, passing exams at secondary level requires good preparation, which in turn also depends on the teachers’ competences and practices.

8. Teachers and teacher training

Teacher education in Tanzania proceeds in two stages, pre-service training and in-service training, although the former is usually given more importance and varies according to three kinds of programme, which train teachers for the employment at different school levels (University of Sussex 2014).

Grade A teachers are trained in a two-year programme for the teaching at pre-primary and primary level, for which the O-level Secondary Education Certificate constitutes the minimum entry requirement (MoEC 1995: 48). Colleges for future *Diploma teachers* prepare applicants for the teaching at junior secondary level (i.e. first four years of secondary school) in two years of training, although most of the graduates start working in primary schools (University of Sussex 2014). The minimum admission qualification for this diploma course is the A-level Secondary Education Certificate (MoEC 1995: 48). The third and highest level of training educates future *Degree teachers* in a three/four-year university programme, which offers the most specialised courses, i.e. selected academic subjects, and prepares for the teaching of A-level secondary pupils (University of Sussex 2014).

Most of the courses at all three levels of teacher training are full-time and residential, and are offered in either governmental or private institutions. According to Semali (2014:

114), in 2002, there existed 14 private and 34 public colleges/universities in Tanzania, a number which has been steadily increasing in the last years.

As far as language is concerned, the media of instruction used in all teacher education institutions, governmental and private, should “relate to the medium of instruction for the education level of students for whom the teacher is preparing to teach” (MoEC 1995: 49). Therefore, while Grade A students are trained through Kiswahili and learn English as a subject, Diploma and Degree students are expected to be taught through the English language. At the end of all three programmes, before entering the world of work, “it will be necessary for all teachers to have mastery and ability to effectively communicate in the two languages” (MoEC 1995: 52).

Related to the skills that all trainees are expected to have developed when completing teacher training, the Ministry of Education and Culture defines the teacher as the “most important actor in education”(MoEC 1995: 7), who

organizes and guides students in their learning experiences and interaction with the content of the curriculum, and promotes, at all times, students’ initiatives and readiness for their own learning.

Despite this great responsibility, Tanzanian secondary schools tend to be poorly supplied with educators and, in 2005, the increasing teacher pupil ratio was already as high as 74:1 in some parts of the country (Wedgwood 2005: 5). As highlighted by Mulkeen (2010: 1) on the basis of various studies of teacher policies in different sub-Saharan African states, quality education requires

(i) an adequate supply of teachers; (ii) the ability to locate teachers where they are required; (iii) training systems that equip teachers with the required skills; and (iv) management and career structures that result in consistent, high-quality performance by teachers.

However, for countries such as Tanzania with very low education budgets at their disposal, these requirements constitute a significant challenge, especially as, in the last two decades, the access to especially primary and also secondary education has increased rapidly. The growing enrolment rates have resulted in the need of a high number of teachers, which has put national teacher deployment systems under considerable stress (Mulkeen 2010: 2). Consequently, the centrally managed distribution of teachers in the country is rarely effective, especially in rural parts, in which there tends to be a shortage of better-qualified teachers (Mulkeen 2010: 3).

Furthermore, the teacher supply is currently limited by the decreasing number of “suitably qualified school leavers” (Mulkeen 2010: 39), which is a challenge that, in the long

term, can not be met by solely expanding teacher education as such but by improving the quality of secondary education. One aspect which is especially crucial for the achievement of good learning and teaching outcomes at secondary level is successful in-class communication, for which language plays the most important role.

9. English as the medium of instruction

9.1. Policy and practice

According to Tanzania's current language-in-education policy for secondary schools (see 5.2.3.), Kiswahili should be used when teaching Kiswahili as a subject, including grammar or literature, while English should be the MOI in subjects such as Geography, History, Civics, Mathematics, Physics, Biology etc. (Gibbe 2000: 64). With reference to the characteristics of multilingual educational programmes, this system could be defined as a maximum exposure late immersion approach: *late* due to the fact that teaching and learning at pre-primary and primary level happens through Kiswahili while English becomes the language of instruction only at secondary level, when the pupils are already 14/15⁹ years old; *maximum exposure* because in all subjects, except for language subjects such as Kiswahili, English is the sole medium in post-primary schooling (Obondo 1997: 28).

In many parts of Tanzania, the school setting is the only place in which young people are in contact with English. In urban areas, the former colonial language may be considered a L2 due to its presence in (international) media, its use for business “as well as for communication between the speakers of different African languages who populate the cities” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 350). However, in poverty-stricken rural parts of the country which lack electricity or any kind of infrastructure, especially those far away from tourist areas such as the Kilimanjaro region, English is more of a foreign language which is not used in the immediate environment of school children. Therefore, pupils have very restricted/no opportunities e.g. to read newspapers or watch television for practicing perceptive language skills. Under these circumstances, teachers constitute the their only source of the English language (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 350).

Because of the mismatch between MOI practices in the educational context and “actual language use in society” (Vuzo 2005: 66), and the low levels achieved in language learning throughout primary education, secondary school entrants tend to increasingly lack

⁹ Sometimes they are even older when entering post-primary education, as some have to take a break after the Primary School Leaving Examination until their parents/they have enough money to pay secondary school fees.

sufficient key skills in English (Wedgwood 2005: 4). Therefore, secondary schools generally offer a six-week orientation course at the beginning of the first school year, with which they try to prepare Form 1 pupils for English-medium teaching (Malekela 2003: 106). In a number of schools, the language learning materials of the ELTSP developed in the late 1980s in cooperation with the British Council (see I 5.2.3) still constitute the basis of these courses. Pictures included in *Appendix A* show some pages of the widely used “Baseline” booklet, which provide an insight into grammar and vocabulary (e.g. measurement, parts of the body) which should be learnt in the six-week preparation programme.

However, despite the preparation courses, e.g. Senkoro (2004: 44) or Tollefson and Tsui (2004: 286) argue that, as far as the medium of instruction is concerned, the transition from primary to secondary schools tends to be very difficult, with the current language-in-education system appearing challenging for teachers and learners.

9.2. Challenges

A number of international researchers (e.g. Hassana 2006b, Sa 2007), whose publications concentrate on different socio-political aspects of Tanzanian school life and pupils’ achievements, suggest that the recent language policy in the Tanzanian education system constitutes a major obstacle to effective teaching and especially learning. This section aims at briefly presenting the results of some of the most recent studies which have proven that the national English-only policy at post-primary level “raises difficult issues for individual and societal development” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 349).

9.2.1. Learning through English as the MOI

Brock-Utne (2002), currently one of the most active researchers in the field, claims on the basis of various independent studies that students are generally not prepared for lessons held in English when entering secondary school. Linked to this observation, for instance, Vavrus (2002) especially emphasises the consequences of Tanzanian pupils’ insufficient command of the English language, which range from their general struggle to communicate to the actual challenge of passing e.g. science classes.

Analysing the Tanzanian language-in-education policy in relation to conditions in other Eastern African countries, Hassana (2006b) sees the source of the challenge to succeed at school in the predominantly passive role that pupils occupy in the classroom, as they are mostly silent and unable to participate and, therefore, also to learn effectively through the medium of English. According to Sa (2007), who provides an in-depth analysis of historical

developments in the national education system and their consequences for the lives of individuals, the language-related difficulties in class pointed out by e.g. Vavrus (2002) and Hassana (2006b) have a considerable impact on students' futures, resulting in increasingly high drop-out rates, in pupils' weak performances at the national exam at the end of secondary school, regardless of their actual understanding of the subject matter, and in low academic achievements throughout their lives.

These assumptions which highlight issues caused by the current language-in-education policy are supported by the researchers' observations and studies conducted in Tanzanian secondary schools in different parts of the country. For instance, while Sa (2007: 8), in her experiments based on essay exams, reveals considerable differences between pupils' written performances in Kiswahili and their responses to the same questions in English, which mostly remain unintelligible, Brock-Utne (2002: 15) concentrates on interactions during Biology classes. In her argumentation, she refers to statistics published by the Tanzanian National Examination Council which very well show that pupils at secondary level perform especially badly in science, as English as the medium of instruction obviously constitutes "a barrier to learning in general and to conceptualize the intricate science concepts in specific" (Brock-Utne 2002: 16f.). Through experiments carried out in Biology classes in urban Tanzanian secondary schools, Brock-Utne (2002: 16) demonstrates how students, if at all, only respond to the teachers in monosyllables and, with lowered voices, tend to immediately switch to Kiswahili in group discussions.

In their observations of math lessons in Tanzanian secondary schools, Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002) take an approach similar to the one in Brock-Utne's studies, which leads them to a similar interpretation concerning pupils' difficulties in understanding the subject matter during science classes. However, besides the fact that Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002: 354) reveal numerous instances of language-based confusion on the side of the pupils, different to Sa (2007) or Brock-Utne (2002), they highlight another very important aspect of the issue by emphasising that learning and teaching through the medium of English also involves so-called "border crossing". With this idea, they refer to the fact that Tanzanian secondary school pupils, in coping with the discourse of e.g. physics, have to shift not only from their own spoken language to the formal language of the discipline, but also "cognitively as well as culturally from one world view to another" (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 355). In contrast to Sa (2007), Vavrus (2002) and Brock-Utne (2002), who mainly concentrate in their studies and assumptions on conditions for school children in Tanzanian cities, Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002) illustrate the general differences between urban and rural life in the country.

They especially highlight the great disjunction between educational settings and home culture in rural areas, which is reinforced by the mismatch between language use in private domains (local languages and Kiswahili) and the language of teaching and learning at school (English). Furthermore, due to the lack of mass media and electricity, secondary pupils generally do not have any contact with the English language outside the school setting.

9.2.2. Teaching through English as the MOI

As indicated in different publications (e.g. Vavrus 2002, Hassana 2006b), in Tanzania, not only secondary school pupils but also teachers tend to have difficulties in expressing themselves and effectively explaining complex subject matters in a language of which they tend to not have sufficient command. This is indicated by Sa (2007: 10) on the basis of observations of patterns of teacher-student interaction in different urban secondary schools, and especially highlighted by Brock-Utne (2002: 18), who presents the interesting results of an experiment conducted in science classes. In the course of the experiment, she compared the teachers' considerably varying ways of giving instructions and explanations, as well as students' reactions, contingent on whether the observed classes were held in Kiswahili or entirely conducted through the medium of English. Brock-Utne (2002: 19) concludes that English as the medium of instruction constitutes a barrier of communication for the majority of the teachers.

Besides the general suggestion that Tanzanian secondary school teachers tend to have difficulties in interacting with their pupils in English, researchers also focus in their work on very specific aspects of teaching. For example, whereas Brock-Utne (2002: 17) concentrates on teachers' strategies of conveying complex information, which mainly includes "reading aloud from prepared notes", Hassana (2006b: 14) describes how the use of English influences teaching formats predominating at secondary schools. He claims that it is the insufficient command of the English language that prevents teachers from abandoning their solely teacher-centred methods and from including more interactive, for learners more effective approaches. Related to Hassana's assumption, Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002: 351) present data collected through observations, on the basis of which they claim that the only in-class interaction between Tanzanian secondary school teachers and students are "question-answer routines requiring single-word answers", which are generally thought to help learners prepare for the national exams and especially to train the recognition of key words in English.

Besides various arguments concerning the direct relation between English as the medium of instruction and teacher-centred teaching, all of the research reports presented here, at some point, mention code-switching (English-Kiswahili) as one of the strategies which

Tanzanian secondary school teachers apply in class. For instance, while Sa (2007: 8) describes code-switching in the educational context as a way of clarifying confusion based on language difficulties, Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002: 355) assume this communication/teaching strategy to fulfil not only linguistically based functions but to be considered “a resource for constructing meaning in the classroom” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 357). Referring to the previously introduced idea of “border crossing” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 354), which plays a considerable role in learning for many Tanzanian pupils, the two researchers have observed code-switching being applied by teachers “to render the culturally unfamiliar familiar and to provide contextualisation cues” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 360). Focusing on different phases in teaching, Brock-Utne (2002) adds another aspect, namely the one of classroom management: in questionnaires, teachers admitted that they, although generally teaching in English, tend to “unofficially” (Brock-Utne 2002: 21) switch to Kiswahili when e.g. giving instructions. However, the survey does not provide any further information on e.g. the headmasters’ attitudes towards code-switching in class, considering the strict national language-in-education policy.

Different to the here introduced studies in the field of English-medium secondary education in Tanzania, which primarily concentrated on teaching and learning in schools in urban or tourist areas, the research which will be presented in part II aims at offering an example of existing language-in-education guidelines and practices in schools in a very remote part of the country in which teachers are the pupils’ only source of English, as only Kiswahili or local languages are spoken outside the school setting.

PART II: EMPIRICAL STUDY

With the definition of relevant concepts related to the international status of English, to language policy and multilingual approaches to education, as well as with the introduction of the Tanzanian education system and the delineation of language-in-education developments in the country, part I was intended to establish the theoretical framework for the empirical study which will be the focus in the second part of this thesis.

A) THE RESEARCH

1. Project outline and research aims

Part I presented the current Tanzanian language-in-education policy, the development of which was illustrated with reference to historical events during and after colonial times, the country's recent socio-cultural situation, as well as the present role of different African varieties in intra-national communication and of English as the international language in domains such as business, politics and education in and outside the URT.

Against the background of the theoretical information on the Tanzanian school system and the current English-MOI policy in post-primary education, the main objective of my empirical research was to gain an insight into actual practices and experiences of teachers in daily work and life in secondary schools in a rural part of the country, far away from any cities, infrastructure, electricity, mass media or the contact with the English language through tourism.

For this, I chose to conduct two case studies in two secondary schools located near the same village, one governmental and one private institution, which I hoped would allow for an investigation of similarities and differences in terms of teachers' perspectives on the following aspects:

1. the role of English in Tanzania today
2. language-in-education policy: interpretation and appropriation
3. teaching through the medium of English: strategies
4. learning (through) the English language: students' achievements
5. possible alternative approaches to the current MOI system

2. Research approach

I decided to approach the objectives stated above in a qualitative research, which is especially suitable for in-depth explorations of specific phenomena or the observation and description of people in their “natural environment” (Mayring: 2002: 19). Concerning empirical studies conducted in an educational context, a qualitative approach allows the researcher to gain insights into e.g. the way in which language learning and teaching processes are considerably shaped by social and situational factors (Dörnyei 2007: 36). Aiming at scientifically describing and interpreting situations, interactions, patterns of behaviour etc., this type of research is based on the collection of mainly “non-numerical data which is then analysed by non-statistical methods” (Dörnyei 2007: 2). Qualitative research works with various sources of data collected through multiple methods, often applied simultaneously, which include e.g. recorded interviews, documented observations as well as field notes (Fox & Saheed Bayat 2007: 71). Instead of focussing on the investigation of complex details of a whole phenomenon, a qualitative approach concentrates on “finding a set of cultural or personal meanings” (Yin 2008: 88) of one specific case.

Case studies play a central role in qualitative research, as they intend to comprehend processes and individuals in specific contexts (Mayring 2002: 54). The contexts of the research presented here were two Tanzanian secondary schools, one governmental and one private, which I had already visited in 2012, two years before I started the empirical study. Contact to the headmasters was established with the help of a Tanzanian friend who lives and works in the village near the two institutions. The next section introduces the methodology used in the research conducted in the two schools in July and August 2014 and describes the process of data collection.

2.1. Data collection

As emphasised by Fox and Saheed Bayat (2007: 67) or Mayring (2002: 29), qualitative research requires a lot of preparations because, although being defined as a relatively open approach, it should be conducted in a methodologically controlled way, in which single steps are taken according to a research plan and explicated in documentations. Furthermore, data collection instruments should be valid as they “should measure what they are supposed to measure” (Fox & Saheed Bayat 2007: 18), and reliable, i.e. analogous results should be obtained “in the same or similar circumstances and using the same or similar research approach” (ibid.). Interviews constituted the primary source of data and basis of the research in the two Tanzanian secondary schools, followed by observations and documentations made

during the in-depth investigation of the structure and management of the two institutions as well as of the main characteristics of the educational programmes offered there.

2.1.1. Methodology

While the studies briefly presented in part I (4.2.) were primarily based on in-class observations of teaching practices and learning processes in different Tanzanian secondary schools, my empirical research mainly focused on interviews with teachers of different content subjects in order to hear their personal perspectives on the use of English as the medium of instruction in secondary education in their country. More specifically, semi-structured interviews were chosen in the study to gain an insight into how the teachers in the two selected schools interpret the current Tanzanian language-in-education policy and, according to their reported experiences, how they appropriate it. Additionally, the headmasters were interviewed to obtain information on the organisation of the two institutions and especially on the schools' official language-in-education rules and practices in and outside the classrooms.

Furthermore, although not constituting the main source of data, a small number of lessons were observed, in which I mainly concentrated on teaching practices and interaction formats. The observations allowed the experience of instances of the actual instantiation of the English-MOI policy by individual language users. Therefore, they provided complimentary information to what had been said in the interviews or revealed aspects that had not been directly addressed by the respondents. Before the actual research process is described, some theoretical considerations on the methodology are relevant.

Semi-structured interview

The format of the semi-structured interview was considered suitable for the empirical study because it is sufficiently open for the interviewees to be encouraged to talk uninhibitedly about topics addressed in the course of the conversation although “pre-prepared guiding questions” (Dörnyei 2007: 136) are used. The prepared questions concentrate on specified issues related to the research questions/objectives while leaving enough space for the expression of opinions and the formulation of individual answers on the part of the interviewees (Mayring 2002: 67).

In the course of a semi-structured interview, a natural yet guided conversation should evolve in which the interviewees' subjective viewpoints constitute the centre of attention (Mayring 2002: 69). For this, a problem-centred, semi-structured interview usually starts with more general, introductory questions through which the actual main topic is slowly

approached and then addressed through the questions prepared in the guideline. Additionally, unplanned aspects or questions eventually arise from the situational context. The interviewer decides on their relevance for the research focus and will guide the conversation accordingly (Mayring 2002: 70).

Observations

Apart from interviews as an important form of data collection, observations are used in qualitative research to gain insights into what is happening with which effects in the research situation, including aspects such as behaviour patterns of individuals or groups (Fox & Saheed Bayat 2007: 84). During the observation of, for instance, school lessons, actual behaviour is experienced and recorded/documented instead of focussing on “what people say that they did, or believe they will say or do” (Fox & Saheed Bayat 2007: 86). Observations may proceed in a structured or unstructured way, which refers to whether pre-prepared checklists or guidelines such as observation sheets are used by the researcher (Mayring 2002: 81).

2.1.2. Research process

In the course of my study, in the governmental school, I interviewed the headmaster, four teachers (Civics, Chemistry, Geography, and History) and talked to the academic master who gave me information about the school itself, showed me the buildings and introduced me to a couple of teachers and groups of students. Furthermore, I was given the permission to observe three lessons held by two different teachers, who I also interviewed, namely one Civics lesson (form 4C) and two Chemistry lessons (form 1A and form 1B). I was also invited by an English teacher to come and observe one of his lessons, which I did out of curiosity. However, even if it was very interesting to experience English language teaching in a secondary school in Tanzania (in this case, pupils reading and copying grammar rules from the board), I did not consider this lesson observation as being relevant for my research focus, i.e. learning through English as the medium of instruction in content subjects.

In the private school, I also interviewed the headmaster and talked to the academic master, who, besides working as a Physics and Chemistry teacher, was in charge of e.g. the planning of the timetables and examinations, which he explained to me in detail after he had shown me around on the school territory and had helped me to get in contact with teachers and students. Furthermore, I interviewed three teachers of Physics, Civics and Chemistry, respectively, and was allowed to observe two lessons, one Physics (form 1A) and one Civics (form 2B), both held by two of the teachers who were also among the interviewees.

Timeframe

For organisational reasons, and due to the fact that I intended to use the time I had as effectively as possible, I conducted the two case studies simultaneously, changing the research setting every day or couple of days. At the beginning, I spent some time in both institutions having first meetings with the headmasters and just walking around, trying to understand who worked in which positions, where I could find which buildings, how school days and lessons were organised, how and when I could approach teachers etc. It took some time and several informal conversations with the staff until my presence, especially in the governmental school, was not anymore that mysterious and irritating for the teachers and especially students, and I could start with the planning of first concrete steps. The actual interviews and observations then happened within a month, which is presented in this time schedule showing the sequence of the most important steps in my research:

	<i>Governmental school</i>		<i>Private school</i>
22/7	- getting to know the school - meeting with academic master	26/7	- getting to know the school - meeting with academic master
24/7	- Observation: Civics 4C	29/7	- Observation: Physics 1A
28/7	- Interview: Civics teacher (TGCi)	30/7	- Interview: Physics teacher (TPPh)
31/7	- Observation: Chemistry 1A + 1B - Interview: Chemistry teacher (TGCh) - Interview: Geography teacher (TGGeo)	1/8	- Observation: Civics 2B
5/8	- Interview: History teacher (TGHis)	4/8	- Interview: Civics teacher (TPCi)
7/8	- Interview: headmaster (HG)	18/8	- Interview: headmaster (HP)
		22/8	- Interview: Chemistry teacher (TPCh)
		23/8	- conversation with academic master about MOCK

Although it is not indicated here, all in all, I spent more time in the governmental school than in the private school, mainly due to the fact that whereas in the private school everything, including making and keeping appointments for my research, happened in an organised way and was managed and controlled by the academic master, my study in the governmental school proceeded in a much less predictable way. Communicating with the headmaster, who, together with some of the teachers, was repeatedly absent for some days, was difficult and, therefore, I tried to organise the lessons I wanted to see and teachers I wanted to talk to by myself. Sometimes I would arrive in the governmental school in the morning, walk around, sit in the staff room and look for teachers who were available and had time for e.g. an interview, and after some hours I would leave and hope to have more success the following day. After some time, it proved helpful that one of the teachers of the governmental school lived in the village centre, near the house in which I was staying. I sometimes met him early in the morning and asked if it was a good idea to visit the school that day. Furthermore, even on the days on which it was not possible to observe lessons or talk to teachers, I did not return to the

village with “empty hands”, as I considered all that I had discovered and experienced in the schools, especially in terms of language use of students and teachers in and outside the classrooms, as constituting an interesting insight into (language) rules and practices in these two specific settings.

Field notes and research diary

During the visits of the two secondary schools, I tried to take as many notes as possible of the information I had gathered and the observations I had made, including personal comments and impressions, and, when I had returned to the village in the early afternoon, I used the remaining hours of daylight for transferring the notes into more detailed (and readable) documentations in my research diary (RD). These notes consisted of descriptions of the territory and internal structure of the two schools, information on interviewees and observed pupils, observation notes and interviews themselves. Concerning the latter, it is important to note that I was allowed to audio-record four of the all in all nine interviews, whereas I recorded the other five in handwritten form. While, back in Austria, the audio recordings were transcribed using standard orthography, the short notes which had been taken during five of the nine interviews served as the basis for a more detailed reconstruction of the conversations in the RD.

Although, in June, before leaving for Tanzania, I had prepared observation sheets for the structured documentation of teaching techniques and patters of in-class language use, i.e. the focus of the planned lesson observations, in the end, I did not really use them. Particularly in the governmental school, the presence of the *mzungu* (“white stranger”) during the lessons always remained distracting for the pupils and intimidating for the teachers. Therefore, I realised that writing few words in my small book, which I then turned into more extended notes in my research diary, was the only way of making documentations during the observations without attracting all students’ attention. In my notes, I switched languages according to whether I was recording what someone had said or what had happened during a lesson, which I did in English, or writing down a personal thought or comment, for which I used German. I kept the research diary in this way in order to be able to clearly distinguish between e.g. teachers’ words and my ideas.

Challenges

Among the challenges which I encountered in the course of the research process in Tanzania were the language, the fact that I was a young white woman conducting research in a rural, male-dominated community, my insecurity regarding the way in which language-in-education

issues as such should be carefully addressed in the interviews, the quite long walking distances between the village centre and the two secondary schools, and the for middle European standards very different perception of time, which teaches a lot of patience.

As I have only a very basic proficiency in Kiswahili and know solely a couple of words (greeting and thanking) in the local language spoken by the people living in the village and surrounding area, I could only conduct the interviews in English. Although, generally, the language factor turned out to be a smaller challenge than I had expected, the interviewees' expression of ideas as well as the description of personal experiences was less fluent, detailed, and probably also less open in English than they would have been in the teachers' mother tongues. Nevertheless, especially the headmasters spoke English well and most of the teachers were able to follow my questions and give some answers, which was sufficient for the purpose of my study.

My research depended on the interviewees' willingness to express their ideas concerning their country's and schools' current language policies and to share information with a European female student of the English language. While some teachers did not share precise opinions on English-medium secondary education because they maybe had never questioned or reflected upon the Tanzanian language-education-system, others were perhaps not ready to openly talk about such a topic, especially with a stranger. Still others, some of the male teachers, were much more interested in the personal life of the white woman sitting in front of them during the interviews than in the topics addressed by her. In these situations, the interviews took more time and some circuits, but nevertheless arrived at interesting results.

2.2. Data analysis

The research conducted in the two secondary schools in Tanzania was followed by the processing of the results, for which the qualitative approach in the empirical study as such also required a qualitative analysis of the collected data. Therefore, as a first step, the four audio-recorded interviews were transcribed, for which standard orthography was chosen, as the focus was the content of what had been said by the interviewees. These transcriptions, together with the 102 pages of notes in the research diary, which include i.a. the five interviews which had been recorded in hand-written form and the observation documentations, constituted the main data corpus. As a next step, I proceeded with a qualitative content analysis of the textual data (transcripts and notes) according to Philip Mayring's approach (e.g. 2000, 2002, 2010). It aims at analysing texts in a systematic way by structuring the material with the help of a coding scheme which is developed on the basis of the research data (Mayring 2002: 13). Following Mayring's multi-step procedure, the textual

data was divided into several categories, which were then assigned short labels, for instance *TL* signifying *teacher's language use*, while the number of units and respective labels were left open and “revised within the process of analysis” (Mayring 2000). A coding manual (see *Appendix C*) containing a list of the categories, the labels and respective descriptions was created. Then, focussing on the coded units, the material was summarised according to the specific content areas (cf. Mayring 2010: 94). This type of qualitative analysis facilitated the comparison of the information and interpretation of the data according to the research foci.

3. Research setting

3.1. The village

The village to which the two secondary schools of my research belong in terms of administration is located in a remote rural part of Tanzania, far away from any main roads or tourist areas. It is the home of approximately 2500 people and lacks any kind of infrastructure such as access to electricity. The village people live in clay huts or small houses made of bricks, and cultivate mainly maize and beans to provide for their families and themselves.

In daily activities, as well as with inhabitants of small nearby villages, the people communicate in their local language. However, while the majority comes from the village and the local language is his mother tongue, Kiswahili is spoken when discussing official matters during village meetings. Furthermore, Kiswahili is used in the religious communities (most of the people are Christians or Muslims), e.g. in gatherings and celebrations, especially because there are no religious texts such as the Scripture written in the local language, although the Lutherans living in the region have been trying to translate some passages. Similarly, there are no newspapers or any written texts produced in the local language spoken by the people. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that besides the lack of access to any kind of electronic media, e.g. television or the internet, the two small shops in the village centre, which offer products such as soaps, toothbrushes as well as note books and pens for school pupils, do not sell any newspapers, magazines or books.

Most of the children of the village grow up learning and speaking the local language and get in contact with Kiswahili when entering compulsory primary education. Besides a small kindergarten run by the Catholic Church, there is one governmental primary school in the village, which is attended by about 550 pupils between the ages of 7 and 14. The two secondary schools in which the two case studies were conducted are situated some kilometres from the village centre.

3.2. The two secondary schools

The interviews with the headmaster of the governmental school (HG) and the head of the private school (HP), as well as conversations with the two academic masters (in charge of the organisation of exams, timetables etc.) constituted the main source of information about the two institutions, including e.g. the students' backgrounds, teachers, subjects, fees, the school territory, and especially rules and practices in terms of language use. Concerning the latter aspect, as a first step in my research, it was essential to gain insight into the general rules of language use in the two institutions as presented by the headmasters before the actual analysis of the teachers' individual perspectives on the schools' language policies and their personal English-medium teaching experiences.

3.2.1. Governmental school

General information

I started my empirical research in the governmental school, a boarding school for boys and girls, established in 2005 (HG 46¹⁰). Although it belongs to the village, the school is located six kilometres from the centre, surrounded by nothing but savannah. The institution consists of several one-story buildings: three houses with classrooms, the office of the headmaster, a staff room, a room in which school books and materials are stored, two dormitories, one store for food, one open house used for cooking and making fire, a roofed area used for washing, a maize mill, a well, and six small houses in which some of the teachers stay (RD 22/07/2014). In the middle of the school territory, there is a big wooden board with a couple of information sheets showing e.g. the dates of the O-level exams as well as a list of the students' achievements in previous examinations.

Apart from the headmaster, the academic master, a cook and a carpenter, four female and fifteen male teachers are employed at the school (HG 72-79), some of whom live there, especially the women, whereas the majority stays in two different nearby villages. The nineteen teachers are in charge of 602 students, 248 girls and 354 boys between the ages of 14 and 18 (depending on when they started secondary school), who are taught in small classrooms in which three or more pupils share a table and books (HG 3). Most of the students come from the region in which the school is situated, mainly from small villages, and

¹⁰ The interview passages presented as source of information in this thesis are always named in one of these two ways:

1. audio-recorded interviews: abbreviated title of the interview (e.g. HP, HG, TPCh) followed by numbers which indicate the respective line(s) in the interview transcripts (included in the *Appendix B*)
2. interviews recorded in note form: abbreviated title of the interview (e.g. TGCi, TPPh) followed by the date of entry in the research diary

speak local languages as their mother tongues and Kiswahili as their second language. Additionally, there is also a small number of pupils whose families live in more distant (rural) areas (HG 65-68).

These pupils finish secondary school with the O-level examination, as four forms (Form 1 to Form 4) but no A-level courses are offered. According to the headmaster, in this rural area, which belongs to the poorest parts of the country and in which only a small number of teenagers go to and finish secondary school, the organisation and provision of A-level courses would not be worth the effort and money (HG 5). The tuition fee for this governmental school is approximately 400.000 TS (€ 200) per year, which some of the pupils' parents partly pay in kind by contributing food, e.g. bags of maize or beans (HG 55-61). The main reasons why only part of the students finish all four O-level forms or even continue with A-level programmes in other institutions are poor exam performances, girls becoming pregnant, and the fees, which are difficult to pay for many families, especially when pupils lose one or both parents. In 2013, the school had 110 Form 4 pupils, 36 of whom passed the O-level with success and would have been allowed to proceed with A-level courses elsewhere (HG 30-34).

At the governmental secondary school, each form is divided into three streams (e.g. 1A, 1B, 1C), to which between 40 and 50 students are annually assigned according to their performances (RD 22/07/2014). If a teacher is absent, the students of different streams are put together and taught in one classroom, in which more than 70 people may sit. Like all Tanzanian secondary schools, this governmental institution offers nine subjects: Kiswahili, History, Civics, English, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, and Geography (HG 7-10). Generally, the school day begins with breakfast at 7:00, followed by lessons from 8:00 to 14:30, with a tea break for teachers from 10:40 to 11:10, lunch in the early afternoon and afterwards again lessons. Later in the afternoon, there is study time for the students before they participate in other activities offered in the school and announced on the information board, e.g. "sports and games", "general cleanliness", "subject clubs", "debate" (RD 22/07/2014).

The school's language policy

According to the headmaster, instruction is given in English in all lessons and forms, except for the teaching of Kiswahili as a subject (HG 82). Additionally, the pupils of the governmental public school learn English as a subject, depending on the form, between four and six hours a week (HG: 7-10). Although it is not easy to control whether the teachers and

pupils communicate with each other during the lessons and outside the classrooms only in English (HG: 84-86), the use of the “foreign language” (HG 137) is constantly encouraged:

[W]e just remind them that English is the best one because it is the only language they can use for their examinations. So it is very important, it is not for option but it is it must be spoken in all the time. (HG 88-93)

The governmental school adheres to the English-only policy, not only because it is the only accepted language in all district and national exams at secondary level – “out of English is not marked, is crossed” (HG 260-261) –, but especially because “it is instructed” (HG 103), it “is the national rule” (HG 107). However, like politicians who “mix Kiswahili and English” (HG 107) in Parliament, some teachers may tend to switch to Kiswahili when trying to explain complex subject matters (HG 121-128). According to the headmaster, this practice is the consequence of the lack of appropriate teaching materials in the public school (HG 146-147). This, however, as stressed by the headmaster, should not generally excuse and legitimate the use of Kiswahili as MOI:

[S]ometimes for them it is very difficult how to explain. If they are having teaching aids, it is fine, they can understand easier. But if they are don’t using teaching aids, it is very difficult to take the knowledge of students in the idea. Sometimes they speak Kiswahili. But we don’t allow. You must use teaching aids. They must use teaching aids so that to avoid speaking Kiswahili. (HG 124-128)

To help Form 1 students at the beginning of their first school year in the transition from learning in Kiswahili at primary level to learning all subjects through the medium of English at secondary level, the governmental school offers a six-week English language orientation course (RD 22/07/2014).

3.2.2. Private school

General information

The private secondary school was established with the help of a European religious community who is still financially supporting the institution by e.g. providing equipment and money for the building of additional houses (RD 23/08/2014). The all-girls boarding school is located eight kilometres from the village centre, was opened in 2012 and offers an O-level programme for 180 students who are living and studying there. The school territory comprises three houses with classrooms, two laboratories, one house with a staff room, the headmaster’s office as well as his own private house, one shared office with a computer and printer for everyone (fuelled by solar power), one kitchen and a dining hall, two dormitories, a well and several water tanks, and two houses in which the female teachers stay.

Twelve permanent teachers and four temporary teachers who are waiting for government employment are employed at the private school. Among the permanent teachers are two women who live on the school territory, whereas the men live in the nearby village. Their houses in the village as well as bicycles are provided by the school itself. Although the teachers do not earn more than their colleagues working in public schools (the headmaster did not want to talk about money), they are offered free accommodation and the regular and punctual payment of their salaries, which has turned the private institution into an attractive workplace. Additionally, the school opens bank accounts and contributes to every employee's pension fund. Most of the teachers are quite young and started to teach after their training in 2012. They applied directly at the school and were chosen by the headmaster, who prefers selecting teachers not only through interviews but by having them prepare a lesson and by observing them while they teach. (HP 11- 46)

The pupils of the secondary school come from different places in Tanzania, mainly from bigger cities, e.g. Dodoma or Dar es Salaam, far away from the rural region where the school is situated. According to the headmaster, their parents, who annually pay 900.000 TS (about 450 €) of tuition fee, have chosen this private institution because of its good reputation and high standards, and the fact that it is a boarding school only for girls. Apart from the fees that the families need to be able to afford, the students' competences are among the selection criteria, as only pupils who have performed very well in their Primary School Leaving Exam are accepted at this school. Some of the girls coming from cities such as Dar es Salaam have been to international pre-primary and primary schools, in which English instead of Kiswahili is used as the medium of instruction. Originally, during the construction phase, the religious community who manages the institution planned to provide schooling for O-level and A-level pupils. However, currently, as the school has been running for three years, the headmaster does not consider the organisation of two-year A-level courses worth the effort and money. (RD 23/08/2014)

The private school follows the same curriculum as the public school, teaching the same nine subjects. In addition, French is offered as an additional foreign language, taught by a language teacher who comes from Nigeria. The pupils of this institution take the same district and national exams and study with the same textbooks, although there is a considerable difference between the governmental and the private school as far as the quantity of available teaching/learning materials is concerned. For every form there are two streams (A and B), to which the students are allocated randomly, so as to have classes of approximately 30 pupils of varying levels of competence. Each class has its own classroom in which there is

a desk for every girl. The school days are organised in such a way that the pupils have lessons from 8:00 to 10:40 as well as from 11:20 to 14:00, with half an hour of break in between. After lunch, the girls have study time before they are allowed to participate in activities like singing and sports.

The school's language policy

Like in the public school, also in the private secondary school English is the “medium of communication” (HP 92-97) in all content subjects. As emphasised by the headmaster (HP 140-143), the language of instruction

is not something that you choose as a school. It is a rule. From secondary school, the school curriculum is in English, only with one lesson in Kiswahili. Or with other options like French, that one you start separate.

According to the school's language policy, the use of English by teachers and students in all in-class and afternoon activities is encouraged while the use of Kiswahili is generally avoided:

We discourage Kiswahili because Kiswahili is our national language for sure everyone knows. But using Kiswahili while you learn the nine subjects in English you make an obstacle for you to understand the other subjects taught in English. You better be practicing speaking English, softening the tongue and making you possible to understand the subjects. (HP 92-97)

Based on this idea of the constant practice of the English language, the teachers are “never allowed to teach in Kiswahili” (HP 146). However, as explained by the headmaster, the national primary school curriculum does not enable pupils to learn English sufficiently well to be able to successfully learn through the medium of English at secondary level (HP 165-167). Therefore, the occasional use of Kiswahili for the clarification of terminology is accepted at the beginning of the very first school year (HP 168-169). After the first few weeks, everyone has to adapt to the strict English-only policy, which was justified by the headmaster in the following way:

Explaining and elaborating things in Kiswahili you make someone to be a cripple. [...] He must or she must be having a partial knowledge, because partially understood in English and partially understood in Kiswahili. So he has got a divided mind. (HP 156-163)

While the teachers are allowed to use Kiswahili when talking to their colleagues, the students are expected to speak only Kiswahili also when communicating with each other. If a girl is caught speaking Kiswahili, e.g. when having lunch, she has to wear a wooden sign saying

“Kiswahili speaker” as punishment. According to the headmaster (HP 117-119), this practice is necessary because “otherwise they won’t speak English [...] and they won’t understand their subjects”.

Similar to the governmental secondary school, also the private school offers an orientation course for Form 1 pupils which prepares the girls for English-medium instruction. The headmaster (HP 132-134) finds this very important as with the national primary education

syllabus one cannot be in the position to speak English and to know how to speak English. But with the programme of English grammar, means one is learning a language in its process, with these eight parts of speech, the tenses and so on.

However, different to the public school, the English language course in the private school starts already a month before the actual school year begins.

4. The interviewees (teachers)

Before introducing the teachers who were interviewed in the course of the research, it might prove useful to mention some general differences between their jobs in private and governmental secondary schools in Tanzania, especially concerning the process of application, selection and supervision of their work.

According to the academic master of the private school, the training of future teachers (i.e. college and university) is the same regardless of whether they later apply for a job at a private or a public institution: “they are all the same, went to the same universities, took the same courses” (RD 30/07/2014). Furthermore, the salary in governmental schools and private schools is nearly the same. However, private institutions usually additionally offer free housing and services such as pension funds.

Having completed the same training, teachers apply and are selected in different ways for their employment in private or public institutions. If applying for a job in a governmental secondary school, a teacher has to sign an employment contract which allows the Ministry of Education to send him/her to any public school in the country (RD 28/07/201). The teachers cannot choose the place or region and the headmasters, who are also employed by the state, cannot choose the teachers with whom they would like to work. Different to this situation, in private institutions, the headmasters personally select the teachers, who have to apply directly at the respective school (RD 30/07/2014). Therefore, while in public secondary schools, the headmasters are not authorised to dismiss teachers, the headmaster of a private institution can ask teachers to leave if he is not satisfied with their performance. Furthermore, private schools

tend to organise and strictly control the work of their teachers, using timetables and attendance lists, and making documentations of lessons and students' achievements (RD 30/07/2014). Consequently, teachers working at a private school tend to be very dutiful and to put a lot of effort into their job (RD 30/07/2014).

4.1. Teachers of the governmental school

In the empirical study, the teacher interviews in the governmental school were all conducted in the staff room, mainly between two lessons or during the longer tea break. In the room, which they use for the preparation of their lessons and the correction of home exercises, the teachers share five tables and some chairs. On a big board, among various information sheets written by the headmaster or issued by the Ministry of Education, there is big poster showing a handwritten grid which contains the names of the teachers, subjects, forms and a timetable for the whole term. When the interviews were conducted, there were always between two or four teachers in the room, and, therefore, I was never completely alone with the respondents. None of the teachers gave me the permission to audio-record the interviews, which, consequently, I recorded by taking notes.

4.1.1. Civics teacher (TGCi)

In the governmental school, my first interviewee was a male teacher of the subjects Civics and Geography. I observed one of his Civics lessons on 24/7/2014, which was arranged by the academic master, and, the same day, I made an appointment for an interview which took place on 28/7/2014.

The teacher originally came from a small town far away from the region in which the secondary school is located. He grew up acquiring his people's local language at home, which he still uses when returning to his home town, and learnt Kiswahili in primary school. The man learnt English as a subject at primary school level and was taught through the medium of English in secondary school. After his A-level, he went to university in Dar es Salaam and obtained a degree in Civics and Geography, which gives him the permission to teach all O-level and A-level forms. At the time of the interview, he had been teaching for three years, all at the same public school, and was between 28 and 30 years old (he did not mention his exact age). The young man had chosen to become a teacher because he had thought that it would be a good job. After his first years as a teacher, he said that he liked teaching but after university he had not expected to be sent to such a "poor school for poor people" (RD 28/07/2014). The absence of any kind of infrastructure, electricity, money, teaching materials, and of houses for teachers makes life and work in the remote secondary school difficult for the teacher who

grew up in a different environment. (RD 28/07/2014)

In the Civics lesson which I observed four days before the interview in a form 4C, from 9:20 to 10:00, 41 students were sitting in the classroom, sharing one table and textbook in groups of three or four. Among the topics addressed in the lesson were the development of the Tanzanian education system, the examination standards and the quality of education services.

4.1.2. Chemistry teacher (TGCh)

My second interviewee was a 23-year-old woman who had been teaching Chemistry, Physics and Geography at the governmental secondary school for three months. At the time of the interview, she had finished her A-level and since then had been working as a non-permanent teacher without any teacher training to earn some money in order to be able to go to college and become a nurse. She lives with her family in a village not too far away from the school and speaks the local language and Kiswahili in her daily life. (RD 31/07/2014)

I interviewed the young woman in the staff room during the teachers' tea break, on 31/7/2014. Like the lesson observation before the tea break, which had been arranged by the headmaster in the morning, the interview had not been planned in advanced but took place quite spontaneously. I started an informal conversation with the shy woman, during which I told her about myself and my empirical study, before I asked if I was allowed to interview her. She agreed, but, unfortunately, after some questions, the headmaster appeared in the teachers' room and said that the young woman had to leave and prepare her lessons.

Prior to the interview, I observed two Physics lessons, from 9:20 to 10:00 in form 1A, and from 10:00 to 11:40 in form 1B, which were very similar in terms of content, lesson procedure and teaching materials. In the first lesson, there were 53 pupils, four of whom always shared a table, while in the second lesson, 71 pupils were taught in a small classroom with only a couple of tables. In both lessons no textbooks were used and the teacher copied information from her prepared notes onto the board. However, while the lesson in form 1A was a revision of topics which the pupils had already in their notebooks, in form 1B the information conveyed by the teacher was new to the whole class. (RD 31/07/2014)

4.1.3. Geography teacher (TGGeo)

When on 31/7/2014 the young Chemistry teacher had left the teachers' room after a very short interview, another teacher, who had been in the room during the tea break, approached me and wanted to know what I was doing and whether I was interested in interviewing him. In this way, he became the third teacher who I interviewed in the governmental school.

The middle-aged man comes from a completely different part of Tanzania, has a university degree and, at the time of the interview, had been teaching Geography and History for four years. He described himself as being “a village man” (RD 31/07/2014), who grew up in a rural area speaking only the local language with his family and friends. The man explained that he had always wanted to become a teacher and enjoyed his job, even if he preferred teaching in another school, as his current workplace was “not the best place” (RD 31/7/2014).

4.1.4. History teacher (TGHis)

The fourth and last teacher interview in the public secondary school was conducted with a male History teacher. I had already met him in the teachers’ room a couple of times and, on 5/8/2014, when the headmaster had no time to keep our scheduled appointment, he was interested in giving me an interview.

The teacher comes from a region far away from the area in which his workplace is located and, like all permanent teachers, was sent to the governmental school by the Ministry of Education. After his A-level, he studied at the University of Dodoma, where he obtained a degree in History and Civics. The man explained to me that he originally had wanted to study law, but due to the country’s job situation he had decided to become a teacher: “you can only live as a lawyer if you have the money to start your own business” (RD 5/8/2014). At the time of the interview, the man had been teaching for eight years, always in the same secondary school.

4.2. Teachers of the private school

The three interviews with teachers working at the private secondary school were conducted in the staff room (first and third interview) and in the office where computers and printers are stored (second interview). In the staff room, every teacher has a desk, as well as their own textbooks, notebooks, *Collins* dictionaries and calendars. In two corners of the room, there are additional tables, one with water, tea and snacks, and one with paper and pens for creating posters, as well as other teaching material such as small globes.

4.2.1. Physics teacher (TPPh)

On 30/7/2014, I conducted an interview with the Physics teacher and academic master of the private secondary school, which I was not allowed to audio-record. The day before, I observed his Physics lesson in form 1A, during which the 37 pupils learnt about density of liquids and other matters, and which took place in a classroom which was four times as big as

the classrooms of the governmental secondary school.

The teacher was born before Tanzania's gain of independence and grew up in a small town located in a rural part of the country. He acquired his tribe's local language as a child and started to go to school in 1960 when English was still used as a medium of instruction at primary level. After his A-level, he began his studies at the University of Dar es Salaam, which, in those days, was the only university in Tanzania and also had students from other East African countries. With his degree in Physics and Mathematics, he started teaching in the late 1970s. Before he was employed as a teacher and academic master at the private secondary school in 2012, he had taught in "many different schools all over Tanzania" (RD 20/07/2014) and also worked as the headmaster of a public secondary school in a small town.

4.2.2. Civics teacher (TPCi)

On 1/8/2014, I observed a Civics lesson in form 2B in the private secondary school, in which the class of 39 pupils learnt and talked about topics such as democracy and political parties. The date of the observation had been arranged by the academic master, who then showed me the classroom and introduced me to the Civics teacher. Three days after the lesson observation, I met the teacher for an interview, which took place in the office and was audio-recorded.

The young man was born in the region in which the private secondary institution is situated, started to learn Kiswahili in primary school and English as a subject at secondary level (TPCi 32). After his A-level he went to college to study Civics and Kiswahili and, at the time of the interview, he had three months of teaching experience (TPCi 17). He chose this job because he liked teaching (TPCi 21-22).

4.2.3. Chemistry teacher (TPCh)

The last, also audio-recorded, interview in the private secondary school was conducted with a 24-year-old female teacher on 22/8/2014. In the afternoon, after lunch, she approached me in the staff room and asked if she could participate in my study. Unfortunately, the day after the interview, she went home for some time and there was no time left for the observation of any of her Chemistry or Biology lessons.

The young woman's educational background and future plans are very similar to the ones of the Physics teacher to whom I talked in the governmental school: she started working as a teacher after her A-levels, without any teacher training, because she wanted to save money to be able to study health and become a nurse (TPCh 6-8, 24). She began teaching at the private secondary school in 2012 and, before that, had been in three other schools (TPCh

2-5). As a child she acquired her village's local language, which she defines as her "mother tongue" (TPCh 33) and still uses it when talking to family members and friends. The teacher stated that, throughout the years as a pupil at school, but also because of the fact that she has a cousin who lives in the U.S., she had developed a passion for the English language (TPCh 86-93).

B) THE FINDINGS

After the description of the research setting and the introduction of the methodology, the research process, as well as the interviewees, section B is now dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the findings (teachers' perspectives) according to the case studies' five research foci, i.e. the role of English in present-day Tanzania, language-in-education policy and practice, teaching strategies, students' achievements, future developments in and alternative approaches to English-medium secondary education.

5. Presentation and analysis of results

5.1. English in Tanzania today

The first results concern the use of English in the URT today. They reveal the respondents' views on the current role of the former colonial language in people's daily lives and various formal and informal domains of language use in the country, and their very different conceptions of the current status of English in and outside Tanzania, based on their personal experiences and work environments.

5.1.1. Governmental school

The four teachers interviewed in the governmental secondary school perceive English more as a language which played a crucial role in Tanzania in the past rather than as a language which is important to the Tanzanian population today. They mentioned higher education as the most important and evident domain in which English is still present, but, related to non-educational settings, described the language as being used only e.g. by tourists coming to Tanzania or by politicians in official written texts.

The Civics teacher, who defined English as the "language of Tanzania before independence" (RD 28/7/2014), as well as the History teacher, who referred to English as the language of the country's "history" and "of the British" (RD 5/8/2014), concentrated on the

colonial expansion of GB in the 18th/19th century as the main factor of the spread of the English language and its former position in the URT (cf. Crystal 2003: 120). Rather than considering English as a language which has also been “imported” (Seidlhofer 2011: 3) by Tanzanians who use it as an additional language, the two teachers focussed on the aspect of English as a language which had been “exported” (ibid.) by the British in the past. The two interviewees assigned their country’s people a passive role in the expansion of English in Tanzania and ascribed little importance to the language in the present-day URT.

All four teachers stated that English was not important to them and the majority of people living in Tanzania today, as e.g. the History teacher expressed in the following way: “it’s not the language of our people” (RD 5/8/2014). Therefore, in his answer, the English language and his “people” were mentioned as two separate aspects. All three men explained that they did not feel personally related to English, which means that they do not identify themselves through this language (cf. Seidlhofer 2003: 241).

Furthermore, when talking about English, especially the Geography teacher emphasised that in present-day Tanzania “people speak local language and Kiswahili” (RD 31/7/2014). He excluded English from his description of the country’s linguistic profile, referring to a diglossic linguistic situation (cf. Brenzinger 1992: 295) rather than to the by Petzell (2012: 141) mentioned “three-language-model”. Also the History teacher, although I had asked him about the present role of English in the country, immediately stressed the important unifying role of Kiswahili in Tanzania (cf. Holmes 2001: 101), and, therefore, referred to the African variety as his people’s symbol of identity and national pride (cf. Ferguson 2006: 22). Furthermore, all three male teachers stated that Kiswahili, not English, functioned as what Blommaert (2005: 399) defines “the identifying code of public activities”. They particularly mentioned that, although English might be used in some international TV channels and newspapers, Kiswahili was the main language of the media and broadcasting, which is also described by e.g. Kiango (2005: 163).

Although the Chemistry teacher did not say a lot as far as the position of English in Tanzania is concerned, she immediately stated that the language was still important “at school” (RD 31/7/2014). Therefore, similar to the other three interviewees, the young woman referred to English, on the one hand, as not being widely used by the population but, on the other hand, as occupying a special position in the curricula of national educational institutions (cf. Ferguson 2006: 112). From a language learning perspective, all four teachers indicated that Tanzania was one of the many countries in the world which were involved in the “global industry of English teaching” (Stevens 2003: 27) and part of the phenomenon of the

“macroacquisition” (MacKay 2006: 115) of the English language which has developed over the last decades. From a MOI perspective, especially the Civics and the History teacher stressed that English was not only a subject in primary and secondary schools but the language of learning and teaching in post-primary education, the domain in which English has remained prominent also after the country’s gain of independence: “after primary, it’s the language of education” (RD 5/8/2014). This refers to Tanzania’s exoglossic language policy in the post-primary education system, according to which a language different to the country’s national language is chosen as the medium of instruction (cf. Lambert 1999: 152).

Based on their line of argumentation, one can say that the interviewees indicated a gap between the language officially used in higher education (i.e. English) and the languages actually used by the majority of Tanzanians in private domains e.g. in their families or village communities and daily work (i.e. local languages and Kiswahili). Related to this, all three male teachers automatically mentioned the continued use of English-medium textbooks produced by non-African publishing houses as the reason for the retention of English as the language of instruction in post-primary education: the Geography teacher explained, “we don’t have other books” (31/7/2014), similar to the History teacher who emphasised, “it’s the language of the books” (5/8/2014), or the Civics teacher who, during the interview, pointed at a stack of textbooks on one of the tables in the staff room. Therefore, they brought up a matter which Mchombo (2014: 34) refers to as the “Western influence” on content and practices in African education systems, and which Hassana (2004: 196ff.) discusses with reference to the dominant position of “British textbook industries” on the Tanzanian textbook market. Conceptualised as “the language of the books”, English as the MOI in secondary schools is perceived by the interviewees as the trace which colonialism has left and which will not vanish as long as English textbooks are continued to be used. They generally defined the by the Ministry of Education approved school books as being the cause rather than the effect of the use of English in the higher education system, and the Geography teacher even explicitly stated, “We are still colonised” (RD 31/7/2014). This is an idea which resembles Phillipson’s (1994: 42) assumption of a deliberate dissemination of educational materials in African countries orchestrated by GB, the US, as well as “Western cultural organisations and aid agencies”, and, therefore, of a “conscious policy” (Spolsky 2004: 79) responsible for the maintenance of the English language in Tanzania.

Related to the current role of English in higher education and science, which is also expressed i.a. in the *Education and Training Policy* (MoEC 1995: 52), the History teacher stressed that, in Tanzania, “English exists mostly in writing” (RD 5/8/2014). Also the

Geography teacher mentioned the presence of English in the country mainly in written form, and gave “some documents and official papers” (RD 31/7/2014) written by politicians, as well as the partly outside the country produced educational materials as examples. However, no further comments regarding the role of English as the co-official language in “political spheres” (TGP), which would suggest the use of the additional language for internal national affairs, were made by any of the interviewees. Only the History teacher gave “by tourists” (RD 5/8/2014) as an answer when I had asked him in which situations and by whom English was used in Tanzania outside the domains of education and politics.

5.1.2. Private school

While the teachers interviewed in the governmental school, whose answers were quite identical, referred to English as a language which has always had its centre in GB, was imported by the British during colonial times and is still brought into the present-day URT through English-medium school books, the three interviewees of the private school appeared to recognise English as an important medium which is not “owned” (Seidlhofer et al. 2009: 282) by the British but has “glocal” (Pakir 1999: 346), i.e. global and local, characteristics.

The Chemistry teacher, although, on the one hand, stating that in Tanzania “many people are not good in English as such, so [...] cannot speak English” (TPCh 196), on the other hand, stressed the importance of the language in and outside the country (TPCh 68). Likewise, when he had been asked about the position of English in present-day Tanzania, also the Physics teacher immediately answered that English was “important” and further added that “English has been important for many years” (RD 30/7/2014). Similar to Canagarajah’s (2006: 197) investigation of the spread of the English language from a historical perspective, the Physics teacher explained the current role of English in the URT as having developed in two different ways: the language started to occupy a dominant position the moment the country became a “British colony” (RD 30/7/2014) and, also after 1961, has remained important as it constitutes what e.g. Pakir (1999: 345) defines as the driving force of globalisation.

Whereas only the Physics teacher mentioned the former British colonial rule with reference to the current position of the English language in Tanzania, all three interviewees conceptualised English not only as an “international language” (RD 30/7/2014) which is “popular in [...] the whole countries” (TPCi 71), but as “that common language” (TPCh 75). Especially due to the emphasis “that”, the comment of the Chemistry teacher is very close to Seidlhofer’s (2011: 2) definition of English as “*the* international language”. The interviewees related the significance of English in and for Tanzania to the role of the medium as a “global

language” (cf. e.g. Rajadurai 2005: 122) as such. They therefore expressed an idea which Nyerere had already stated in his speech in 1984: “English is the Kiswahili of the world” (quoted in Roy-Campbell 1992: 188).

According to the Chemistry and the Civics teacher, the crucial moment in which Tanzanians need English today is when communicating with tourists or when going abroad themselves. The Chemistry teacher particularly stressed the importance of being competent in English when working in the tourism sector: “many guests can arrive and do not know Kiswahili, [...] without English it is difficult to know how to communicate with them” (TPCh 76f.). The Civics teacher referred to English not only as the medium which can be used when being abroad, but especially as the precondition for actually being able to leave Tanzania: “if you know English language it means that you can go anywhere and you will communicate with the different people” (TPCi 79f.). In their answers, both teachers emphasised one fundamental aspect: regardless of the specific domains of language use in and outside Tanzania, English serves, above all, as a medium of communication between speakers of different languages, i.e. as a *lingua franca* (cf. e.g. Seidlhofer 2011: 21). When saying that English can help “getting friends from different countries” (TPCh 77), and that it is used by Tanzanians when going to non-African as well as African states, e.g. Nigeria (TPCh 71), the Chemistry teacher indicated the use of English in “non-native-non-native interaction” (House 2003: 558), which constitutes the crucial characteristic of ELF. By naming various occasions in which English is used by non-native speakers, the young woman indirectly also addressed the functional flexibility of ELF (cf. House 2008: 66).

While the Civics teacher concentrated on the need of English for going abroad, e.g. for job or study reasons, and the Chemistry teacher highlighted the ability to make contact and communicate with people of different nations in and outside of Africa through the English language, the Physics teacher focused on less private domains of language use and mentioned the economic value of English for Tanzania: “it’s important for economy” (RD 30/7/2014). He further referred to English as the key to international relationships between the URT and the rest of the world, especially in terms of trade and commerce. Therefore, the Physics teacher defined English as the provider of the necessary “linguistic infrastructure” (Kadeghe 2003: 172) for the country’s economic advancement and participation in the global market.

It is the status of English on a global level which, according to the Physics teacher, has to be respected and valued by all Tanzanians: the language should be part of the national education system and should be the medium of instruction as “a kind of recognition of English as the international language” (RD 30/7/2014). The interviewee’s comment reflects

Nyerere's view expressed in 1984, when he said that English was the world's Kiswahili, i.e. lingua franca, and "for that reason it must be taught and given the weight it deserves" (quoted in Roy-Campbell 1992: 188). Also the Civics teacher mentioned education as the domain in which English is adopted as an additional language in Tanzania today (TPCi 75), and, in this context, the Chemistry teacher stressed that English was the language "mostly used in all books" (TPCh 69). In this way, all three interviewees emphasised the importance of learning and using English at school as, in their view, it constitutes the language which opens doors in diplomacy, trade and science (cf. Kachru 1992: 4).

All in all, the teachers interviewed in the two schools defined the role of English in Tanzania in different ways, based on their personal beliefs (cf. McGroarty 2010b: 3) or "common-sense assumptions" (Blommaert 2006: 241) about the function of the language in the country today. At work or in private life, they have made different experiences as far as the use of English is concerned and, consequently, have developed varying positions towards the language. For instance, three of the four teachers who were interviewed in the governmental school teach subjects (History, Geography, Civics) which focus on Tanzania's history and national culture, and, additionally, they hardly experience English or have access to the language outside their workplace, i.e. the school setting.

The interviewees of the private school have varying backgrounds and especially work in a different environment than the interviewees of the governmental school. For instance, the Chemistry teacher has a cousin living in the US with whom she stays in contact and communicates in English, and the Physics teacher, who was born before the country's gain of independence, has experienced Tanzania under the government of Nyerere and, as a student and teacher, different changes in the educational sector as well as developments in politics and economy. These factors might have shaped the teachers' perceptions of the English language and its function at global and local level. Additionally, which is also relevant in the case of the Civics teacher, who is currently in contact with the English language only at his workplace, all interviewees of the private school are quite aware of the use of English in Tanzania by a (small) part of the population because of their students' backgrounds: many of the girls come from bigger cities where they grew up in families who, apart from Kiswahili, use English at work e.g. in the business sector, and who tend to send their children to international English-medium primary schools. In the private secondary school, the students are quite successful in learning different subjects through the medium of English.

While the four interviewees of the governmental school talked about English with reference to GB and Tanzania's colonial history, the three teachers of the private school

mainly focused on the present role of English (in Tanzania) as a language which has “moved beyond its nation” (Halliday 2006: 352) to function as a lingua franca for all members of the three Kachruvian circles (cf. Ferguson 2006: 51). Therefore, whereas one can notice a “unilateral attribution of agency in language spread” (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 110) in the view of the teachers interviewed in the governmental school, according to the interviewees of the private school, the maintenance of the English language in and outside the URT involves agency on the part of all speakers and different decision makers (cf. Spolsky 2004: 79).

5.2. Language-in-education policy

After the analysis of the interviewees’ views on the position and function of English in present-day Tanzania, the second set of results focus on the seven teachers’ perspectives on their own language use in teaching and communicating with their pupils, related to their personal interpretation and appropriation of the language policy on which the official MOI practices in the two schools are based. In the case of the four teachers whose actual language use in class, i.e. instantiation (cf. Johnson 2013: 107), I was allowed to experience in the course of the research, the observations will be compared to what the teachers said in the interviews.

5.2.1. Governmental school

Concerning their personal language practices at school, all four interviewees immediately stated that, while there were no particular rules regarding the communication among teachers, they all generally used English when teaching their subjects in class or talking to their students within the school setting: for instance, the Chemistry teacher said “teaching in English” (RD 31/7/2014), and the History teacher explained “all in English” (RD 5/8/2014). Therefore, the interviewees’ answers, in which they stressed that English was the medium of instruction in all forms at secondary level (except for Kiswahili as a subject), completely correspond to the headmaster’s delineation of the official language use in the governmental school (HG 82). When they were asked on whose decision they based their language behaviour, i.e. why they used Kiswahili when talking to their colleagues but English when teaching e.g. History or Chemistry, the interviewees gave the following short answers:

TGCi (RD 28/7/2014) :	“the rule is English”
TGCh (RD 31/7/2014):	“books in English”
TGGeo (RD 31/7/2014):	“this is the rule, the rule for many years”
TGHi (RD 5/8/2014) :	“it’s policy”

These comments reveal that, for the four teachers, the reasons behind the practice of using English as the MOI are the availability of only English-medium textbooks, and, especially, the interpretation of what they refer to as “the rule” or “policy”. The interviewees’ explanations are very similar to the statement of the headmaster of the governmental school, who defined the use of English in teaching and learning as being “instructed” (HG 103) or “the national rule” (HG 107). Therefore, both the teachers and the headmaster understand language policy in the Tanzanian secondary education system as a predominantly top-down process in which much importance is attached to macro-level policies and neither the head of a school nor the teachers are involved in policy creation and decision making (cf. Johnson 2013: 96). Instead of being actors who “potentially have input” (Johnson 2009: 142), all people working in the governmental institution are obligated to respect and act according to the rules established at the highest level of the national school system, i.e. by the Ministry of Education. The four teachers do not perceive themselves as being the “centre of language policy activity” (Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 417), but as holding a low position in a language policy hierarchy in which they play the role of mere implementers.

However, later in the course of the interviews, when we were talking about their personal in-class experiences with English as the MOI, the Civics, the Geography and the History teacher indicated “implementational spaces” (Hornberger & Johnson 2007: 510) for the negotiation of the national LP: they slightly modified their answers which they had given with reference to the school’s official English-only rule by adding that they “sometimes” used Kiswahili during their lessons, particularly when teaching Form 1 students:

TGCi (RD 28/7/2014) : “but sometimes I change”
 TGGeo (RD 31/7/2014): “sometimes I give translations of expressions”
 TGHi (RD 5/8/2014) : “sometimes I use Kiswahili”

According to the concepts defined by e.g. Levinson and Sutton (2001: 3) in relation to educational LP, what the interviewees described here could be understood as *appropriation*, as they stated that they did not always strictly adhere to the national English-only policy (cf. MoEC 1995) but adapted language use according to their pupils’ needs in a bilingual rather than monolingual approach. Different to the Chemistry teacher who said that she “never” (RD 31/7/2014) used English during her lessons, the other three interviewees talked about situations in which they tend to switch to Kiswahili: the History and the Civics teacher use Kiswahili when they realise that their pupils “don’t understand” (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014), similar to the Geography teacher who explained that he changed languages when “nobody can follow [him] and [his] subject” (RD 31/7/2014).

However, considering the interviewees' line of argumentation and Johnson's (2009: 142) definition of educational LP as an on-going dynamic process according to which major agency is assigned to single institutional actors themselves, one might ask if the three teachers really consciously negotiate and appropriate the English-MOI policy. This question arises because of the fact that after the interviewees had openly stated that they sometimes used Kiswahili in class they obviously immediately felt the need to defend themselves and to provide some justification:

- TGCi (RD 28/7/2014): "What can I do? [...] Language is a problem."
 TGGeo (RD 5/8/2014): "Otherwise they don't understand. Otherwise there is no interest."
 TGHi (RD 5/8/2014): "Students and teachers don't understand. Language is a problem for all."

Like the headmaster, who explained, but not legitimised, the occasional use of Kiswahili as a result of the "lack of appropriate teaching materials in the public school" (HG 146-147), the teachers defined their practice as being against the rule. They do not speak Kiswahili during their lessons because they feel that they, as decision makers, are authorised to do so, but because language-related in-class situations force them into this "illegal" practice of code-switching. Therefore, the remaining question is if the language use described by the interviewees can be really referred to as *appropriation*, even if, in this case, their English-Kiswahili bilingual approach does not constitute a deliberate act of creative adaption of a policy (cf. Johnson 2009: 142) but a situational behaviour which requires an apology.

As already indicated by the History teacher in his justification of the inclusion of Kiswahili in his teaching procedures, language is perceived by the interviewees as constituting an obstacle to effective teaching and learning. After the interviewees had expressed their perspectives on language policy and practice at their work place, they were asked how they felt when teaching their subjects through the medium of English and gave the following answers:

- TGCi (RD 28/7/2014) : "It's ok. [...] But it's difficult."
 TGCh (RD 31/7/2014): "Often I don't understand. Physics is difficult. English is more difficult."
 TGGeo (RD 31/7/2014): "It is normal but also strange. [...] Because I'm teaching about my country and history."

The teachers said to generally accept the use of English as the MOI as being part of their daily job, while, at the same time, they named two kinds of difficulties which the current LP entails. These are related, one the one hand, to the use of English for in-class communication and the

learning of complex subject matters, and, on the other hand, to the lesson content itself. Concerning the latter, the Geography teacher, whose second subject is History, referred i.a. to the historical relationship between the English language and Tanzania and the fact that it was “strange” to him to be not allowed to tell his pupils about their own country in their people’s language (Kiswahili). He further mentioned how the pupils’ “faces change” (RD 31/7/2014) when he switches to Kiswahili and, in this way, enables them not only to understand more but to be able to identify with and feel personally related to what he is saying. Therefore, the interviewee indirectly addressed the issue of Tanzanian secondary school pupils having to move in their classes taught through English not only from communicating in their mother tongues to learning in a foreign language but “from one world view to another” (Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002: 354), a processes which is defined as “boarder crossing” (ibid).

Based on the interviewees’ reported personal experiences with the use of English in class, the two lesson observations provided an insight into instances of LP instantiation, i.e. of the actual product of how the English-MOI policy is “appropriated on ground level” (Johnson 2013: 107) by the Civics and the Chemistry teacher. A comparison of the teachers’ language use during their lessons with the information gained in the interviews revealed that the Chemistry teacher’s answers in the interview corresponded to her actual behaviour in class: she emphasised that she “never” used Kiswahili while teaching, which I could also experience in the two Chemistry lessons. In both Form 1 classes, the young woman only used English, although it might be relevant to note that the content of the lesson was solely based on the introduction and revision of single terms and definitions, during which she never talked entirely freely but was mainly reading from her notes or the board. Therefore, what could be experienced in these two Chemistry lessons was the one-to-one application of the English-only rule, regardless of the pupils’ reactions, by a shy, conscientious woman who some months prior to the lesson observation had still been a secondary school student herself and for whom the English language appeared to constitute the same challenge as it did for the pupils she was teaching.

The Civics teacher’s practice as described by himself in the interview, in which he said to sometimes use Kiswahili when offering translations of key words or checking if his students are following his lesson, was different to what I personally observed. Rather than teaching in English and including some words in Kiswahili, the man adopted an entirely bilingual approach according to which he was “mediating content in two languages” (Pakir 2001: 343), as about 50 per cent of his speaking time was in English and 50 per cent in Kiswahili. It was true that he provided additional comments and translations in Kiswahili,

however, after every couple of sentences which he had said or read in English. Therefore, in his lesson, code-switching appeared to function as a pragmatic strategy which seemed to arise “naturally” (Baker 2006: 295).

5.2.2. Private school

Different to the interviewees of the governmental school, who did not say anything about the medium which the pupils are supposed to speak during daily life in the boarding school, the three teachers interviewed in the private institution first of all mentioned the school’s language rules for students before concentrating on their own language practices. While there does not exist a rule which says that teachers are only allowed to talk to each other in English, the interviewees emphasised that the pupils are obligated to use only English both during the lessons, when talking to their teachers or with each other, and outside their classrooms, e.g. during various activities in the afternoon:

TPPh (RD 30/7/2014): “for students there is the strict rule”

TPCi (146-148): “The students have to know how to speak. Here they whole day they are supposed to use English. [...] This is for communication. So they do not only speak in subjects.”

As revealed by the Civics teacher, in the private school, English is considered not only the medium through which the students study all content subjects but the language used in “communication” (TPCi 148) in general, so as to have the learners “submerge [...] in a total language bath” (Christ 1997: 9). Like the headmaster (HP 92-97), also the teachers assume this “maximum exposure approach” (Obondo 1997: 28) to be necessary for enabling the pupils to successfully acquire the English language. The Physics teacher mentioned that, as also described by the headmaster, the pupils’ use of Kiswahili was usually “punished” (HP 118), which illustrates how a school’s educational practices do not only shape the students’ process of knowledge acquisition (cf. Ferguson 2006: 34) but also influence their behaviours, language attitudes and perception of sociolinguistic realities (cf. Fairclough 2010: 352).

Although already indicated in their description of the strict control of the students’ language use, later in the interviews, the three teachers explicated that they personally used exclusively English “as the language for various subjects” (TPCh 181f.) because it was “the only medium of instruction in secondary schools” (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014). While the prohibition of the students’ use of Kiswahili also outside the classrooms was established by the institution itself, therefore on a micro-level (cf. Johnson 2013: 139), as an extension/adaption of what is formulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (MoEC 1995), the teachers’ use of English as the MOI in their lessons is defined by the interviewees as

being instructed by a higher authority, i.e. as constituting a policy to which all secondary schools in the country have to adhere:

- TPCh (169) : “It is the rule. English is the rule. [...] English in secondary school is national rule.”
- TPPh (RD 30/7/2014): “This is our national policy. It is the strict rule to use English with students. Always.”

Similar to the teachers of the governmental school, also the interviewees of the private school emphasised that the medium used in learning and teaching in secondary education was chosen on a macro-level, i.e. by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, they referred to the English-only practice as resulting from a LP created in a linear top-down process (cf. Johnson 2013: 10) rather than from decisions of individual agents on “multiple layers of institutional contexts” (Johnson 2013: 54). This reveals how, in this case, language in education can be considered a “political activity” (Davies 2009: 46) and how the interviewed teachers seem to have assigned themselves the role of law-abiding implementers in the LP process. The latter aspect became especially obvious when, in the course of the interviews, the teachers gave reasons for the English-MOI rule which they appeared to entirely approve: for instance, whereas the Civics teacher argued that Kiswahili had “few vocabularies compared with English language” (TPCi 94) and, therefore, English, as the language of science, was used “to facilitate the lesson” (ibid.), the Chemistry teacher focussed on English as the language in which content knowledge is coded in secondary school textbooks:

Because various materials, main materials which we use, their sources are not in Tanzania. So maybe from American Peace Corps and other things and their source is English. And others from various things from Britain. (TPCh 142-145)

In her explanations, the young woman mentioned the involvement of various governmental and non-governmental agencies in the education sector of former colonial African states (cf. e.g. Alderson 2009: 17), and how international textbook industries, by providing teaching materials in one particular language, have a considerable impact on national educational language policies and practices (cf. Hassana 2006a: 196ff.).

While, at first, the three interviewees stated that they “always” (TPCh 46) used English “with the students” (ibid.), later, when moving the focus from their personal interpretation of the official language policy to their actual in-class teaching practices, i.e. to the level of potential LP appropriation, they revealed that Kiswahili was not always entirely excluded from their lessons:

TPCh (46f.): “But sometimes maybe they don’t understand what I am speaking, so I use Kiswahili maybe”

TGCi (43f.): “But sometime maybe you are just clarifying something if it is not understandable, we are just using our language, Kiswahili.”

Like the Chemistry and the Civics teacher, also the Physics teacher said to use Kiswahili in rare moments (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014). However, different to the by the teachers of the governmental school described practice of (unlawfully) including Kiswahili in their teaching routines to help their students understand the lesson content, the interviewees of the private school stressed to “sometimes maybe” use Kiswahili (“our language”) solely for the translation of single key words, and only if a pupil explicitly asks for it. Furthermore, while the teachers of the governmental school described how in-class circumstances demanded the adaption of the English-only policy to their pupils’ needs and, consequently, code-switching during their lessons, the three interviewees of the private institution did not seem to defend or excuse their occasional integration of Kiswahili in teaching. On the contrary, similar to the headmaster’s explanations (HP 156-163), they defined the use of Kiswahili as being “not advisable” (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014) and as leading to bad exam performances on the part of the pupils:

TPPh (RD 30/7/2014): “It confuses some students. [...] In their examinations it’s English only.”

TGCi (56f.): “Using Kiswahili means you make them difficulties in answering their questions at the examinations.”

As noticeable in these comments, the English-medium national exams, which serve as the basis for the secondary school curriculum and constitute the annual final destination at which the teachers attempt to make their pupils arrive safely, do not only have an impact on educational practices in single school institutions and classrooms, but, linked to this, also shape the teachers’ beliefs about “advisable” (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014) language use in teaching and learning itself. Furthermore, the interviewees’ answers, in which they argue in the same way as the headmaster equating in-class code-switching with “making someone to be a cripple” (HP 156) who suffers from a “partial knowledge” (HP 158), reveal that they are part of an institution in which everyone seems to adhere to the same rules without much decision-making involved on their part and to have developed a positive or neutral attitude towards the use of English as the MOI:

TPCh (62): “It is fine for me to use English.”

TPPh (RD 30/7/2014): “This is just normal.”

TGCi (53): “Is just normal things.”

As the regulators of language behaviour in their classrooms (Lo Bianco 2010: 166), teachers have the possibility to interpret, appropriate and instantiate LPs created on a macro-level in “potentially creative and unpredictable ways” (Johnson 2013: 54). However, as long as the teachers experience their students as successful learners, which they generally do in the private school, and, therefore, are equally convinced by the success of the English-only policy and the current total-immersion approach to education, they will approve rather than question the prohibition of the inclusion of Kiswahili in their teaching routines.

Also in the private school, two of the interviewees’ lessons were observed in order to gain an insight into the actual instantiation of the national English-MOI policy at local level, which e.g. Johnson (2013: 98) conceives as being decisive for the actual extent of its influence. During their whole lessons, both the Physics teacher and the Civics teacher were teaching and freely talking to their students only through the English language, without any instances of code-switching or of pupils asking for clarifications of terminology. The teachers are “those who are meant to put policy into action” (Hornberger & Johnson 2007: 509), which, in this case, they did.

All in all, while the interviewees of the governmental school said to have to base their in-class language practices on the national English-only policy for secondary education, even if, as openly stated by themselves, it constitutes a barrier to effective teaching and learning and, consequently, is occasionally adapted during the lessons, the interviewees of the private school appear to unquestioningly promote the use of English as the MOI in all content subjects. This difference in the attitudes and practices of the teachers of the two secondary schools might be related to the fact that, in terms of the institutions’ organisation and resources as well as the students’ competences in English, the interviewees work in very diverse environments. Therefore, in the private school, two possible reasons for the teachers’ positive stance on the English-only rule might be their personal experience of their pupils’ success in learning (through) the medium of English, compared to weak students’ performances and learning outcomes in the governmental school, and the fact that their work in the private institution, including language use, is strictly controlled by the headmaster.

5.3. Teaching strategies

After the respondents had shared their views on the function of English in present-day Tanzania as well as on official language policies at national and school level, and had related how they felt when teaching their subjects through English as the medium of instruction, they

focused on teaching strategies and their students' way of coping with learning through an additional language.

5.3.1. Governmental school

In the governmental school, teaching in all subjects is mainly based on the textbooks, which are used as the provider of the syllabus as well as the basic structure of single lessons, and, therefore, as support for the teachers themselves. As an essential part of their work, the four interviewees mentioned their personal preparation before actually entering a classroom, which particularly involves reading the chapters in the textbooks with which they plan to deal in an upcoming lesson and preparing their own notes with summaries or handwritten copies of relevant passages. I experienced how vital this kind of preparation is to the teachers in one of the lessons which I observed in the governmental school, during which the Chemistry teacher literally clung to her notes the whole time. As was also observable in the two Chemistry and the one Civics lesson, apart from the teachers' notes, the board as well as the textbooks constituted the main teaching and learning material.

The Civics teacher addressed the issue of pupils not having their own books and, due to the lack of resources (cf. URT 2012: 5), sharing the few copies available in the governmental school. Related to this, he stated that providing every pupil with textbooks was senseless as they would not be able to individually work with them without the help of the teachers who offer explanations and especially translations in Kiswahili (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014). In other words, the pupils need the teachers to establish the "appropriate form-meaning relationships" (Mohan 2001: 108). It is also the books which are most important for conveying information, as stressed, for instance, by the Chemistry teacher with reference to the teaching of complex subject matters: "I have the book" (RD 31/7/2014). Apart from relying on the information given in the textbooks, which they summarise and repeat in front of their students, the interviewees said to switch languages and to "give translations of expressions" (TGGeo, RD 31/7/2014), which "can help" (TGH*i*, RD 5/8/2014) if pupils have problems to understand.

An insight into what lessons look like in the governmental school and how the use of English as the medium of instruction influences teaching and learning processes was provided by the observations conducted in the course of the research. In the case of the Civics lesson experienced in form 4C, the procedure was the following: either one student or the whole group together read aloud a passage from the textbook, then a summary of the passage was offered by the teacher in English (for which he used his notes), followed by detailed explanations in Kiswahili given in a more confident way, before the class proceeded with the

next paragraph in the book. The result was a routine in which the pupils played a passive role, took notes which were dictated by the teacher, and generally did not react or solely with single-word answers (“yes”, “no”) when being asked a question in English. It seemed as if they waited until the “English moment” had passed and started to participate and talk (in Kiswahili) when Kiswahili was used on the part of the teacher. These observations are similar to what e.g. Hassana (2006b) or Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002: 352ff.) describe with respect to their research conducted in Tanzanian secondary schools.

The Chemistry teacher, in the two lessons observed in form 1A and form 1B, did not use a textbook but her handwritten notes, from which she copied information onto the board. Especially in form 1B, there was hardly any real speaking time, as all that was said by the teacher (or the students) was actually read aloud from notes or the board, resulting in the following routine: the teacher wrote a term onto the board, asked in vain for the respective definition, wrote the definition onto the board (using her notes), told the class to copy the information into their notebooks, before she went on with the next term and definition. While the lesson in form 1A was a repetition of the content of the previous Chemistry lesson and, therefore, some of the students could give answers in English by reading aloud the definitions which they had written into their notebooks, in the case of the lesson in form 1B, no reactions on the part of the students could be observed. There was no interaction or exchange between the teacher and the class, and English appeared to be a barrier to communication for all people involved (cf. Brock-Utne 2002: 19).

5.3.2. Private school

Similar to the practices observed in the governmental school, also in the private school, the interviewees mainly base their teaching on the textbooks, which, however, they use in combination with other materials such as, in the case of the Chemistry classes, “objects, like bottles” (TPCh 131), or, less subject-specific, “pictures” and “charts”, as was mentioned by the Civics teacher (TPCi 117). In addition to the approved “textbooks, which are written according to the national curriculum” (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014), the Physics teacher stated to use “some other books, old but useful” (ibid.). The man showed me some of these books after the interview, which were mainly Physics books which had been published in the 1980s and contained e.g. exercises and formulas. In the two lessons observed in the private school, neither the Physics nor the Chemistry teacher used any textbooks, however, they had prepared their own notes in advance and, while teaching, mainly used the board or spoke freely.

In the interviews, two of the three respondents stated to work with the support of teaching aids and the repetition of explanations and reformulation of important information

(TPPh, RD 30/7/2014) to help their students when they have problems understanding and learning complex subject matters:

You have prepared maybe teaching aid, it will help you how to elaborate more about what you are talking. But if you have not maybe teaching aid, then now you can use maybe a lot of examples to let them to understand what you are teaching. (TPCi 112-115)

While code-switching was not among the strategies which the two male interviewees of the private school said they normally applied, the Chemistry teacher revealed to change from English to Kiswahili to provide translations, if necessary:

I also use the aids. And we explain much to them, maybe use simple language, use simple vocabularies which maybe make someone understand well. But also sometime, even once use Kiswahili if that one can be translated in Kiswahili. (TPCh 125ff.)

Unfortunately, there was no possibility to personally experience one of the lessons of the Chemistry teacher in order to see if or in which moments both languages, English and Kiswahili, are integrated into her teaching routine.

The teaching methods as well as teacher-student interaction observed in the Physics and Civics classes in the private institution were very different to the lessons experienced in the governmental school. Apart from the fact that only English was used without any instances of code-switching, in both lessons, the active engagement of the whole class could be observed, which included e.g. the students' participation in discussions as well as the collaboration in small groups to brainstorm ideas or solve maths problems. Furthermore, the pupils in the Form 1 Physics and Form 2 Civics class communicated with their teachers by responding to their questions, without using textbooks or notes, and by posing questions themselves, which were not related to language issues (e.g. the clarification of English terminology) but to specific topics addressed in the lessons (e.g. democracy). This involvement and interaction on the part of the students, as well as the fact that the teachers adapted the lesson procedure and pace to the learners' needs, constituted the greatest difference to the students' passive role and the teachers' inability to speak without the support of notes observed in the two lessons in the governmental school.

5.4. Students' achievements

Against the background of what had been observed in the five lessons and what the teachers had reported about their teaching strategies, the interviewees were asked to relate their personal experiences concerning the way in which their pupils manage to study through the

medium of English and the extent to which, according to their opinion, the current approach to secondary education was a successful way of learning the English language as well as various content subjects.

5.4.1. Governmental school

The Civics teacher addressed both the challenge which the English language constitutes for teachers at the governmental school and the difficult situation in which learners who are not competent in English find themselves. He stated that “most don’t understand, [...] it’s not a problem of form”, and further explained that “teachers teach terminology from books that they don’t really understand [...] and students learn terminology that they haven’t understood” (TGCI, RD 28/7/2014). Likewise, the Geography teacher said that his pupils had problems to follow his lessons, the Chemistry teacher stated, “students don’t understand the Physics and Chemistry I teach” (RD 31/7/2014), and the History teacher described, “especially in Form 1, they have no idea what I’m doing” (RD 5/8/2014). – These were the interviewees’ first answers to the question of how their pupils manage to learn the teachers’ subjects.

The History and the Civics teacher referred to the use of English as the language of instruction as being an ineffective way of learning both language and particularly content. The History teacher especially elaborated on the challenging transition between primary and secondary school (cf. e.g. Senkoro 2004: 44; Tollefson & Tsui 2004: 286): when Tanzanian children start primary education, their linguistic environment changes from local language (their “mother tongues”, RD 5/8/2014) to Kiswahili, and later, when they enter secondary school, teaching and learning suddenly switches from Kiswahili to English. Consequently, Form 1 students “have to learn two things at the same time”, which, according to the History teacher, “is too much” (RD 5/8/2014). The man further argued that, with the current system, the pupils have to simultaneously concentrate on lesson content and the English language, although the focus in secondary school subjects such as History or Geography should be exclusively the content. To illustrate how the students of the governmental school feel during his lessons, the teacher asked me, “How much would you understand if I told you about the history of your country in Kiswahili?” (RD 5/8/2014).

Similar to the History teacher’s line of argumentation, also the Civics teacher emphasised, based on his experiences in the governmental secondary school, that “skills and language should not be together” (RD 28/7/2014), as otherwise “skills get lost” (ibid.). By further stressing that “skills”, a term with which he conceptualised all the content knowledge that students should acquire in the course of the four-year O-level programme, rather than language was the actual centre of attention, the respondent indirectly referred to the current

Tanzanian language-in-education system as (inefficiently) following a CBI approach to education, according to which the focus is on subject-learning (cf. Loewen & Reinders 2001: 41) and the students' L1s/L2 sometimes may be used for e.g. providing explanations (Canagarajah 2008: 131).

Concerning the preparation for exams, all four interviewees related that they, in their lessons, went through the revision exercises provided in the textbooks as well as former exam questions with their students. Additionally, the pupils have “study periods in the afternoon and evening” (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014) during which they “sit together” (ibid.) and are helped by the teachers. The History teacher stated that the format of the revision exercises was similar to the questions in the exams, and that the teachers trained their students to e.g. recognise important key words in English. Furthermore, as highlighted by the Geography teacher, the exams are designed in a way which does not require a very high level of English language competence on the part of the pupils, as there are no oral exams and the questions, e.g. multiple-choice or sentence-completion, can usually be answered with a couple of words or phrases. However, according to the interviewees, despite the exam preparation and the conception of the tasks in the written exams themselves, “few succeed” (TGHi, RD 5/8/2014) in the end-of-year examinations, especially in Form 1 or Form 4. The Civics teacher, for instance, mentioned the national O-level exam as being failed by a considerable number of pupils of the governmental school, which he related to the fact that “they are unable to express themselves” rather than “too stupid to learn skills” (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014). Similar circumstances are described by e.g. Vavrus (2002) or Hassana (2006b) in their investigation of the link between the insufficient command of the English language on the part of Tanzanian secondary school pupils and the increasingly high drop-out rates. Their findings as well as the information provided by the interviewees of the research presented here correlate with the drop-out rates, especially in rural parts of the country, which were documented in the most recent national census (cf. URT 2014: 90).

5.4.2. Private school

Before talking about her students' achievements in studying through English, the Chemistry teacher, first of all, distinguished between governmental and private secondary schools with regard to the pupils' socio-linguistic backgrounds and success in learning. The woman highlighted that, whereas students of governmental institutions were not well grounded in English when entering secondary education and, therefore, must face the double burden of having to acquire English and subject knowledge at the same time, private school students

tend to cope more easily with the switch from Kiswahili to English as the medium of instruction:

In public schools, many students do not understand English much. And also are not influenced much to speak English, since those schools are taking students surrounding that environment. So, to speak English is a thing that is very difficult to them. And also they are coming from local places and they use maybe their mother tongues always rather than even Kiswahili. So there are more works: to help somebody that vocabulary from English to national language, is Kiswahili, then to translate from Kiswahili to local. It is very difficult. Even for them to speak is very difficult. [...] But, at this school, I'm enjoying it much since most students are coming from towns and also when they arrive were they influenced by others who have studied even English mediums, yeah, rather than primary schools which use Kiswahili only. So it is easy for them to cope with their environment, to speak English and to try much and much. (TPCh 99-112)

A similar view was expressed by the Physics teacher, who, however, mentioned that also in his school, Form 1 students tend to need some time to adapt to the use of English in teaching and learning: "the first year may be difficult, but then they are getting better, always better" (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014). According to the Physics teacher, the six-weeks orientation course offered by the private school at the beginning of the first term "is sufficient to give the students a good start in English for all subjects" (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014). He also stated that he was convinced that, after the first months at school, language was not anymore a decisive factor in a pupil's exam performance, which was solely determined by their "willingness to study and succeed" (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014).

While, in the Physics teacher's opinion, the use of English as the MOI at secondary level does not impact the learning of content in various subjects or the ability to answer exam questions, according to the Chemistry teacher, apart from subject knowledge, language is one of the aspects influencing the students' success: "sometime can be language, especially in Form 1, or because he or she is not competent in that language or in that subject or maybe she haven't understood well" (TPCh 152-154). However, different to the interviewees of the governmental school who named the use of English as the main reason for their students' weak exam performances, the Chemistry teacher of the private school stressed how also other factors such as the amount of study time played equally crucial roles in whether pupils pass or fail exams: "or maybe she is carelessly, so there are many things, many reasons, not only language" (TPCh 154-156). Like the teachers of the governmental school, also the Chemistry teacher described how she helped her students preparing for important exams by practicing exam questions: "we are preparing them by doing various examinations, [...] to see how the questions are" (TPCh 164-165). According to the interviewee's related experiences, this type

of preparation is effective, as they did not say anything about Form 2 or Form 3 students having difficulties in succeeding in their exams. At this point it might be noteworthy that the private secondary school is quite new with no students having reached Form 4. Therefore, no comments regarding the number of pupils who fail or pass the national O-level exam could be made on the part of the interviewees and used for a comparison with the students' achievements and drop-outs in the governmental school.

One point on which all three teachers interviewed in the private school agreed was that the use of English as the medium of instruction during nearly all classes and as the general medium of communication for all pupils living in the boarding school was an effective approach to education. For instance, the Civics teacher, at first, mentioned how much the English language had become a "normal" (TPCi 129) part of the lessons and the pupils' daily life at school: "for them, it is just normal, like all subjects" (ibid.). Then he stressed that the use of English constituted not only "a good way of learning" (TPCi 132) content but especially "the way of learning English language" (ibid.). Also the Chemistry teacher said that this was a "good" (TPCh 141) way of acquiring both subject knowledge and language skills, similar to the Physics teacher, who, like the Civics teacher, referred to the use of English as the MOI as the "only way" (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014) of learning English at school. Consequently, all three interviewees believe a (late) total immersion programme (cf. Baker 2006: 274) to be the most effective approach to language learning, which is made particularly explicit by the Physics teacher: "they have learnt their first language, local language, by speaking and speaking and speaking" and, therefore, also English can only be acquired "by speaking, speaking, speaking" (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014).

5.5. Possible alternative approaches

The last set of results moves the attention from teaching practices and learning outcomes back to the discourse of language policy, more specifically, to the teachers' role as policy- and decision makers within their school institutions and the national education system as such. Against the background of their personal experiences in their job, the respondents were asked to which extent the future could bring changes in the Tanzanian school system, with regard to secondary education and the role of languages in teaching and learning.

5.5.1. Governmental school

In the interviews conducted at the governmental school, three of the four teachers, when they had been asked what they would like to change in the current school system, immediately

referred to the medium of instruction, although the aspect of language had not been explicitly mentioned in the question:

TGCi (RD 28/7/2014): “I hope Kiswahili will be the language at school”
TGHi (RD 5/8/2014): “Kiswahili as language at school”
TGGeo (RD 31/7/2014): “tell students about the country in their language”

While the Chemistry teacher did not say anything regarding possible or desirable developments in the school system, the three male teachers openly expressed their wish to have Kiswahili as the official medium of instruction, which they considered necessary for secondary education to be effective. The Civics teacher again distinguished between content and language learning and argued that education should be “about learning skills” (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014), i.e. content, which, in his view, is inhibited by the use of English. The Geography teacher, like earlier in the interview, focused on the culturally significant link between the topics addressed in e.g. History lessons and the medium of instruction used in teaching and learning. He explained that in European countries such as France or Italy the national languages functioned as the MOI throughout the whole education system and, based on this idea, asked, “Why can’t we learn in our language?” (TGGeo, RD 31/7/2014). Also the History teacher would like to experience Kiswahili becoming the sole medium at secondary level and argued against multilingual alternatives to the current system, including e.g. a Kiswahili-English bilingual approach to education: “We have just English now, why not just Kiswahili in future?” (TGHi, RD 5/8/2014).

Although the interviewees of the governmental school wished to see changes happen in the near future, they, at the same time, stated that a switch from English to Kiswahili as the MOI at secondary school level was “not possible” (TGHi, RD 5/8/2014; TGGeo, RD 31/7/2014). Whereas the Geography teacher did not mention any reasons for his doubts, the History teacher explained that there were “too many debates, too many people and opinions” (TGGeo, RD 31/7/2014) for real changes to take place. He further described how there had been some attempts to offer Kiswahili-medium subjects at university level, different to the sector of secondary education where reforms had been inhibited by “too many politicians” (TGGeo, RD 31/7/2014) with very different views on the availability/distribution of “money” (ibid.). Also the Civics teacher referred to the current language-in-education situation as being directly related to political decisions at state level, and argued that there had not been any changes with regard to the MOI for decades because the retention of English was “one of the conditions for developmental aid” (TGCi, RD 28/7/2014). In this way he addressed a critical issue which is discussed by e.g. Alderson (2009: 17) and also indicated in the World Bank

report on the resources and financing of the Tanzanian education system (World Bank 2008b: 15). However, the Civics teacher also hoped for a changing status and function of Kiswahili in the national school system, which, according to him, might come as soon as the post-independence generation will not occupy the most influential positions in the Government anymore.

The interviewees' answers reveal how, in the case of the Tanzanian education system, language policy can be considered as being orchestrated by a top-down mechanism impacting decisions and processes of organising learning on various levels of educational institutions (cf. Shohamy 2006: 45). The teachers of the governmental school regard themselves as occupying passive roles in a complex system in which changes at local level can only happen if they are initiated at the level of state policy, and in which single schools and educators themselves are "helplessly caught in the ebb and flow of shifting ideologies" (Johnson 2013: 97) rather than feeling able to "develop, maintain and change that flow" (ibid.). Therefore, in the process of facing the challenge of providing quality education to all students, in which the choice of the MOI is one of the most decisive factors (cf. Baldauf & Li 2010: 236), the interviewees see themselves as employees in powerless positions rather than as potentially influential agents in the appropriation and creation of LP outside and in their classes.

5.5.2. Private school

All three teachers interviewed at the private school stated that, especially as far as language is concerned, there would not be any reforms in the current post-primary education system in the near future, nor could they really think of anything they would like change themselves:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| TPCi (172): | "No, it's not possible." |
| TPPh (RD 30/7/2014): | "no changes in the future [...] language will never change" |
| TGCh (176): | "The system will remain as it is, yes, will remain as it is. No language change. Will be as it is." |

The Physics teacher further mentioned that the only continuously revised aspect in the national school system is the curriculum, according to which also the textbooks and consequently the content of the lessons might be adapted (TPPh, RD 30/7/2014). However, as stressed by the Chemistry teacher with reference to the language use at secondary level, "English will remain" (TPCh 176) the medium of instruction, primarily "because all examinations are in English" (TPCh 149).

Considering the difficulties which the use of English as the MOI in all content subjects currently causes for a number of secondary school students and teachers throughout the

country, the Chemistry teacher suggested a reformation of the education offered at (pre-) primary level with a focus on English language learning: “I think it would be very good if all schools from primary school or kindergarten that the taught language should be English much” (TPCh 145-146). In this context, “the taught language” might imply not only English language learning as a subject but also the introduction of English as the MOI already at primary school level.

When they had been asked about their ideas and opinions on alternative (possibly multilingual) MOI approaches according to which also Kiswahili and/or local varieties would be assigned official functions in secondary education, the interviewees did not answer in an optimistic way: while the Civics teacher shortly stated, “Kiswahili cannot be”, the Physics teacher explained that some politicians had been trying to “establish Kiswahili as a strong language” (RD 30/7/2014) throughout the school system, however without any success due to fact that there were “also other politicians and policies” (ibid.).

While the Physics teacher, similar to the Geography teacher of the governmental school, linked the role of Kiswahili in single school institutions mainly to political decisions made at state level, the Chemistry teacher named the diverse nature of the two languages as the decisive factor for the preference of English over Kiswahili at post-primary level: “English is better than using Kiswahili, since to translate Physics in Kiswahili is very difficult” (TPCh 181-183). According to the Chemistry teacher, theoretically, the translation of textbooks and the change from English to Kiswahili as the medium of instruction would be possible but “very difficult” (TPCh 185), as, in her view, Kiswahili lacks relevant subject-specific terminology.

A third perspective was offered by the Civics teacher, who argued against the feasibility of the introduction of Kiswahili as the MOI in secondary education by focussing on the function of English as an international language rather than on aspects such as national politics or linguistic properties:

Impossible because we are in worldwide. So, using Kiswahili it means that it will be difficult because once maybe the time to go in other country maybe Kiswahili it means that it will be difficult to go and speak with the other. Yes. Because you will be using Kiswahili and other will be using maybe English because it is international. And using Kiswahili is just national, we can say that is a language which is not satisfactory to many nations. (TPCi 173-182)

The idea which the teacher expressed at this point in the interview with regard to possible changes in the current language-in-education situation was the same which he had already brought up in relation to the status of English in and outside Tanzania, and which is similar to

Nyerere's reason (see 5.2.3.) for the retention of English as the MOI in the school system: rather than recognising the for Tanzania important supranational role of Kiswahili, the main lingua franca in Central and East Africa (Wolff 2000: 322) as well as official language in the East African Community and African Union (Kiango 2005: 157), the interviewee perceives the URT mainly in its global context and considers English to be the sole medium through which the country can establish prosperous economic relations and which enables individual Tanzanians to go abroad. Thus, the Civics teacher again stressed that the English language, which, according to the teachers interviewed at the private school, can only be effectively learnt in a total immersion approach, should remain of utmost importance in secondary education because otherwise young people are prevented from being able to leave the country, and Tanzania would run the risk of not being integrated into the "Western economy [...] to enjoy the benefit of socioeconomic progress" (Kadeghe 2003: 172). Consequently, in his view, educators "will be using English always" (TPCi 182) in post-primary education.

All in all, while the teachers interviewed at the governmental school generally would like to see changes happen, i.e. the introduction of Kiswahili as the MOI on all school levels, but regard themselves as having no influence at all and all reforms as having to be initiated on a macro-policy level, the interviewees of the private institution would not (try to) change anything in the secondary school system (apart from the promotion of English-medium primary education, stated by the Chemistry teacher) especially because of three different reasons:

The positioning of a language within an education system and a nation itself is assumed to be primarily politically motivated (cf. Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 2), and as long as the majority of politicians in Tanzania do not support the advancement of Kiswahili, reforms are impossible and any attempts on the part of the teachers to bring about a change are senseless. Furthermore, according to the interviewees, the maintenance of English as the MOI in secondary education is directly linked to aspects such as "usage, viability, or practicability" (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 2) and to the notion of Kiswahili as a language insufficiently developed in lexicon or grammar to be used to express complex systems of knowledge and to function as the medium of teaching and learning at higher educational levels (cf. Mchombo 2014: 29). Moreover, the current English-only approach to secondary education is believed to be the best way of English language learning and, consequently, of making sure that Tanzania, as a formerly colonised country, does not become isolated from non-African economies and the international community.

6. Concluding remark

In sum, the results of the two case studies revealed differing views of the nine respondents. They vary, on the one hand, in terms of the two school settings, which may have shaped the interviewees' opinions and have led to diverse work experiences and language attitudes, and, on the other hand, to some extent, also between the teachers of different subjects of one institution. Whereas the interviewees of both secondary schools gave quite similar answers when they had been asked where the current English-MOI policy came from, i.e. who the policy makers were, they indicated varying perspectives with regard to other aspects such as the present role of English in Tanzania, the reason for the retention of English as the medium of instruction at secondary level, their own teaching strategies, including the question of the advisability of in-class code-switching, their students' success in learning, and possible/desirable future developments in the present language-in-education system. The findings confirm how the interviewees' viewpoints and language attitudes are shaped by social and political factors and supported by personal, cultural or educational arguments (cf. Schmied 1991: 168).

While the four teachers of the governmental school appeared to have developed a critical stance towards the position of the English language in the URT and the use of English throughout the national education system, which they also did not hesitate to express openly in the interviews, their colleagues working at the private secondary school seemed to be optimistically convinced by the advantages which the use of English in Tanzania in domains such as business and higher education brings for individuals and the country itself.

As became obvious in the analysis of the research results, the interviewees employed at the governmental school tend to perceive English in the URT as still having its centre in influential norm- and resource-providing countries such as GB and, more recently, the US. They relate the spread of English in Tanzania to a "planned intervention by identifiable human agents" (Sposlky 2004: 79), who exported the English language and "invaded" (Seidlhofer 2011:3) the country. The interviewees, therefore, define English in present-day Tanzania as a trace which the former colonial British rule has left and as an ongoing threat to the country's political and cultural independence, as, according to them, the language continues to be deliberately disseminated by Western powers, e.g. through non-African textbook industries in the educational sector. Instead of also considering aspects such as international relations which the use of English has brought for the URT, the respondents emphasised the unimportant role which the language plays for the vast majority of Tanzanians and, furthermore, especially the difficulties which it causes for learners and teachers at post-

primary school level. Regarding the latter aspect, the four teachers refer to the official language practice at secondary school as originating from a strict English-only rule for post-primary education created by the Ministry of Education, which all educational institutions in the country are expected to obey, even if it constitutes an inhibition to effective learning and teaching.

Similar to the interviewees of the governmental school, also the teachers of the private secondary school perceive LP in the Tanzanian education system as a top-down process, starting at state level. Therefore, if viewing the dynamic nature of language policy from an ethnographic perspective, one can say that all respondents of the study see *policy* as a noun not a verb (cf. Johnson 2013: 9), i.e. as a chain of unidirectional steps and stages of policy making and implementation rather than as an ongoing process. However, different to the teachers of the governmental school, the interviewees of the private institution did not only state to strictly obey the English-only rule in their lessons but appeared to approve of and actively promote the use of English as the MOI in all content subjects. They perceive the current language-in-education situation as “the natural order of things” (Johnson 2013: 112), and the English-MOI approach without any inclusion of Kiswahili as the most effective way of language learning. The three teachers generally view the English language in its role as a lingua franca in the global context, and as being beneficial rather than threatening to their country. They tend to equate English with international communication in domains such as education, science, and commerce, and define the language as the key to economic prosperity and mobility of individuals (i.e. ability to go abroad), and, consequently, to Tanzania’s development and economic advancement.

The teachers’ individual experiences with English and their varying levels of proficiency in the language, as well as the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the pupils of the two different schools highlight very well that the Kachruvian Circles trying to capture the global spread of the English language (cf. e.g. Kachru 1992) poorly correlate with dynamic linguistic realities within single nations (and even regions) belonging to one Circle (cf. Rajadurai 2005: 117). In both boarding schools, the teachers are the pupils’ only source of English in their immediate environment, as only Kiswahili or local languages are spoken outside the school setting. However, while, in the case of the private institution, the teachers seemed to cope quite well with teaching their subjects through the medium of English, with the help of lesson preparations and various teaching aids, in the governmental secondary school, as reported by the interviewees themselves and also experienced during the lesson observations, the use of English as the MOI appeared to constitute a major challenge for both, students and teachers.

In both schools, the transition from post-primary schooling in Kiswahili to English-medium education at post-primary level is not easy for Form 1 students because, when entering secondary school, they are rarely sufficiently competent in English to be able to understand and acquire complex subject knowledge, even if they went to Kiswahili-English bilingual primary schools. However, in the private school, probably because of the school's resources (e.g. availability of textbooks), the students' personal backgrounds and the more efficient support of individual Form 1 students in classes with a lower teacher-student ratio, the pupils appear to successfully adapt to learning through English within the first months. As opposed to this, in the governmental school, the MOI tends to remain a foreign language to the pupils and an obstacle to efficient learning up to Form 4. Related to this, just like the teachers' application of different teaching strategies and procedures (e.g. interaction formats, code-switching), the pupils of the two secondary schools displayed different ways of coping with English as the MOI during the lessons, in which they communicate with their teachers and colleagues in varying degrees, playing either active or rather passive roles.

Similar to the secondary school pupils who have difficulty understanding and learning through the English language and, consequently, remain silent in their classes, as far as their involvement in language-in-education development and decision making processes is concerned, the teachers of the two institutions can be regarded as occupying the positions of "passive recipients" (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 110). In their authoritative roles in their classrooms, in which they theoretically have the possibility of regulating language behaviour and of confirming or adapting what is stated in official policies and curricula, teachers can be assumed to be essential players in the promotion of reforms and quality education (cf. Lo Bianco 2010: 166). However, the interviewees of both secondary schools, regardless of whether they have experienced the use of English as the MOI as a benefit or disadvantage, perceive the current LP for secondary education as an unchangeable static system which either cannot or should not be reformed due to various reasons such as the availability of only English-medium textbooks, the general lack of resources, politicians' divergent opinions, the common (mis)conception of a total immersion approach to education being the only effective way of language learning, and the country's exam culture. Therefore, considering the fact that the choice of media of instruction throughout a country's school system constitutes a powerful means of offering or denying sociolinguistic groups access to education and, thus, to political and economic opportunities, one might ask to which extent the teachers interviewed in the two schools, based on their beliefs and practices, (are able to) actively modify or merely reproduce social realities in their country (Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 418).

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to present and compare selected data of a sociolinguistic study of the current language-in-education situation in one governmental and one private secondary school located near the same Tanzanian village, with the focus on teachers' perspectives on language policy and practice. The motivation for this study had been previous publications by educationalists and linguists (e.g. Cleghorn & Rollnick 2002) which had demonstrated that the English-only rule for post-primary education entailed challenges for societal and individual development and reinforced socio-economic inequalities in Tanzania.

Related to the presentation of the sociolinguistic profile of the country, as well as of relevant historical developments in the education system of colonial and present-day Tanzania, the first part of the thesis revealed the existence of a gap between the languages which the majority of Tanzanians speak in their daily lives and the official language practices in the country's educational sector. As illustrated, Kiswahili functions as a lingua franca in the URT and as the language of instruction at primary level, while, at secondary level, English, which is introduced as a subject in primary school, serves as the medium of instruction. Tanzania continues this language-in-education policy although, since the country's gain of independence, a number of reports (e.g. Criper & Dodd 1984; Brock 2002) have highlighted that the English-MOI system raises difficult issues for teachers and students.

Tanzania has been struggling to find a way to move from the school system inherited from former European colonisers to an education adapted to people's local needs, socio-cultural backgrounds, and traditional values (cf. Hassana 2006: 10). In this context, because of its function as the vehicle of understanding and learning, the language chosen as the MOI at school can be considered as being pivotal for the provision of quality education. On the one hand, international researchers (e.g. Vavrus 2002) have suggested a reconsideration of the official language policies at post-primary school level and the introduction of Kiswahili as the MOI, as students are obviously most successful in learning if they learn through a medium they understand well. On the other hand, however, Tanzanian politicians and (international) economists strongly support the retention of English as the medium of instruction at post-primary level for various reasons (e.g. Sa 2007).

Against this background, different to previous studies which mainly focused either on higher education at university level or secondary schools in urban areas, the qualitative research presented in the second part of this thesis explored the language-in-education policies, teaching practices and students' success in learning in different subjects in two

secondary schools in a remote part of Tanzania, far away from the capital Dodoma as well as from any kind of infrastructure, an environment in which the vast majority of students do not have any contact with the English language outside the school setting, speak local languages or Kiswahili at home and most probably will not easily get jobs in business or tourism in bigger cities after having finished secondary school. With this in mind, an insight into teachers' perspectives concerning the recent language-in-education situation in Tanzania was gained, and some observations of how students and teachers cope with communication barriers during different subject lessons were made.

The research results revealed considerable differences between the private and the governmental secondary school in terms of the teachers' views on advantages and disadvantages of the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in content subjects and their experiences in teaching through this language. As indicated by the findings, while teachers and students tend to cope better with the English-MOI policy in the private institution, which is well-resourced with textbooks and teaching staff and educates young girls who primarily come from urban areas and were in contact with the English language also at pre-secondary level, in the governmental school, the recent language policy constitutes a major obstacle to effective learning, as teachers and students have no sufficient command of the English language. Furthermore, while the interviewees of the governmental school openly stated the wish to be allowed to teach their pupils through the medium of Kiswahili, which is rooted in practical as well as culture-related/sentimental reasons (i.e. desire to use the country's national language), the teachers of the private school tend to promote the English-MOI practice by arguing that Kiswahili lacks important vocabulary to be used in academic contexts and for the communication on a more supra-national level, or that the change from English to Kiswahili as the MOI would be too expensive for a country like Tanzania (e.g. new textbooks would be needed). They believe that the only successful approach to English language leaning and, therefore, to the education of citizens for the country's participation in the international market, is the use of English as the medium of instruction in all content subjects at secondary school level.

Especially with regard to students' learning achievements, additional to the reports by the teachers of the two schools, first-hand information from learners themselves collected in interviews with pupils of the two secondary schools would have helped to gain a more in-depth understanding of their personal experiences with the use of English as the MOI. Furthermore, apart from the direct investigation of students' performances, more extensive observations of the language behaviour and strategies of the educators in a larger number of

lessons would have enabled a more complete, multifaceted insight into language policy and practice at the two selected schools. However, besides the fact that interviews with the students (especially in the governmental secondary school) could have been conducted only in Kiswahili, such an approach is solely feasible in a long-term study, and would go beyond the scope of this thesis, for which a specific focus, i.e. perspectives of a small number of teachers, was chosen.

In conclusion, based on the theoretical framework established in the first part of the thesis and the analysis of language policy and practices from an ethnographic perspective, the findings of the research presented here illustrated how questions concerning the languages used in secondary schools in Tanzania remain both ideological and political, and how some language macro-policies, even if they are experienced as being unbeneficial and an inhibition to the development of individuals and the country itself, seem to be impossible to overcome, especially by single teachers who consider themselves as being powerless actors in the education system. Furthermore, the results indicated that as long as the URT lacks adequate national budgets for the adaption of the school system to local needs and the promotion of educational programmes in which Kiswahili and local languages are used, foreign companies as well as development agencies continue to occupy an influential role in decision-making in the country and to exert influence on language policies and beliefs in even remotest parts of Tanzania. It was revealed that with regard to the choice of MOI in the post-colonial education system “political considerations trump educational ones” (Ferguson 2006: 35).

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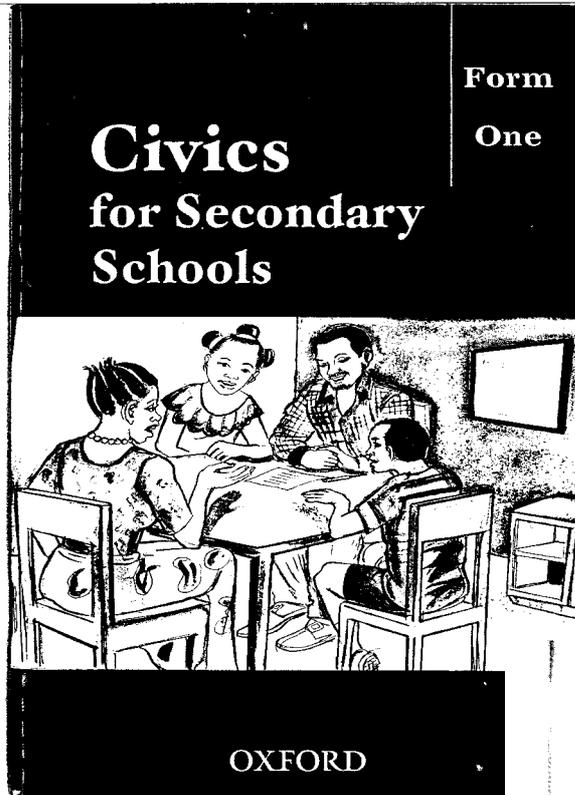
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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Teaching/learning materials & exams

1. Textbook examples

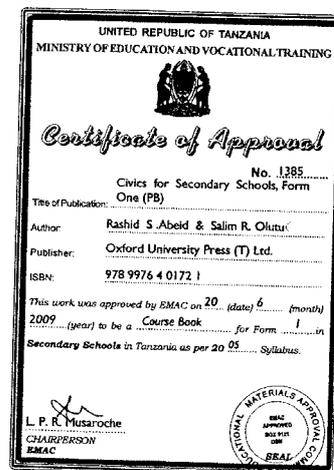
Civics – Form 1



80007
Civics for Secondary Schools

Form One

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1 Our nation

Meaning of a nation

A nation is a group of people who have the same government, culture, economy and history. These people live in a particular area which has specific and recognized boundaries. Examples of nations are Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. There are 54 nations in Africa.

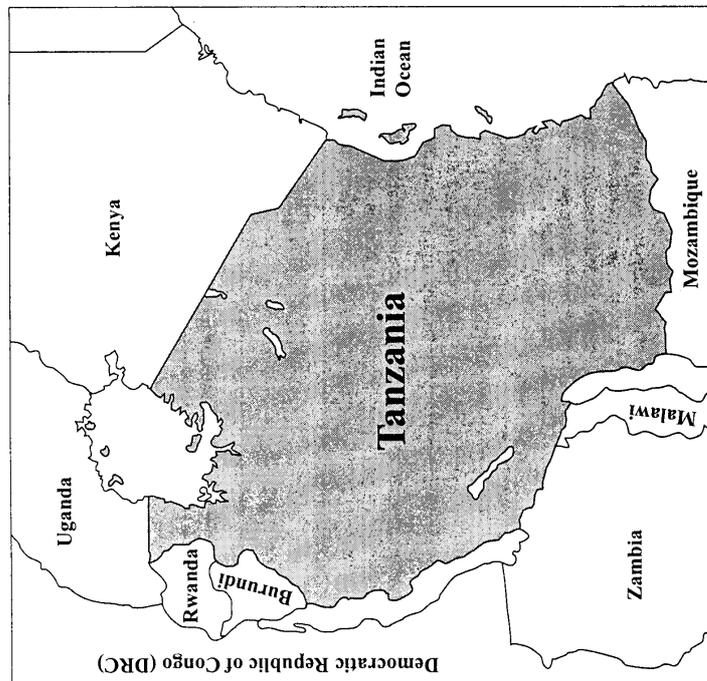


Fig. 1.1 Our nation, Tanzania, and neighbouring nations

Components of our nation

There are seven main components that make our nation. These components are:

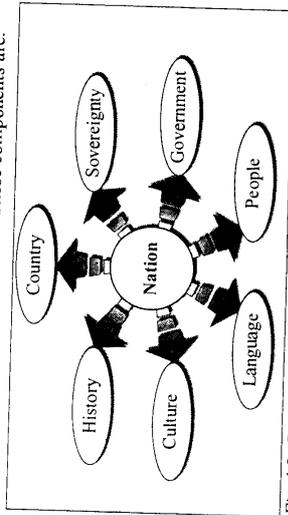


Fig. 1.2 Components of our nation

- country
- sovereignty
- government
- people
- language
- culture
- history

1. A **country** is an area of land that has boundaries and is under the control of a government. Our country, The United Republic of Tanzania, was formed on 26th April 1964. On that day, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were unified to form one country. The total area covered by our country is 945,000 km². Tanzania is bordered by the following countries:

- Kenya and Uganda to the north.
- Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south.
- Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west.
- The Indian Ocean borders Tanzania to the east.

2. **Sovereignty** is the freedom that a country has to govern itself. This means that there is no external power that controls that country. There are two types of sovereignty. These are:

- (a) **Internal sovereignty:** This is where a country has the power to supervise all its internal affairs. Tanganyika became a sovereign state on 9th December 1961 and Zanzibar got its sovereignty on 10th December 1963.
- (b) **External sovereignty:** This is where a country has the freedom to form its foreign policy.

Tanzania is a sovereign state. It has both internal and external sovereignty.

3. **Government** refers to the selected or elected group of people who are responsible for controlling a country or state. In other words, the government is the body of people which administers the state and maintains law and order. The government has power and authority to control and direct people's activities within its territory.

In Tanzania we use the **republic** system of government. This means that the country is led by a president and politicians who have been elected by the people.

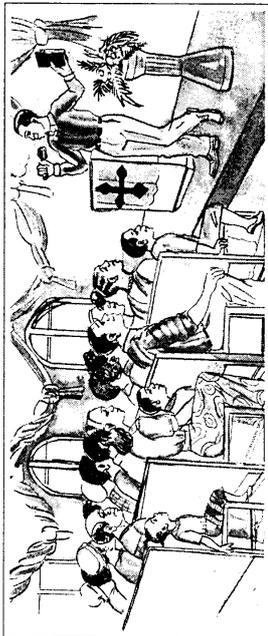


Fig. 1.14 Christians in a church service on Christmas Day

Boxing Day is marked on 26th December every year. It is the day when Christians open the gifts which they received on Christmas Day. Christians continue their Christmas celebrations on this day.

2. Good Friday and Easter Monday

The dates to mark these days change according to the Christian calendar. These dates usually fall between March and April. On these days, Christians commemorate the suffering of Jesus Christ, his death and his resurrection.

3. Maulid Day

This is the day Muslims celebrate the birth of Prophet Muhammad. According to the Islamic calendar, Prophet Muhammad was born on 12th Rabiul-Awal in 570 AD.

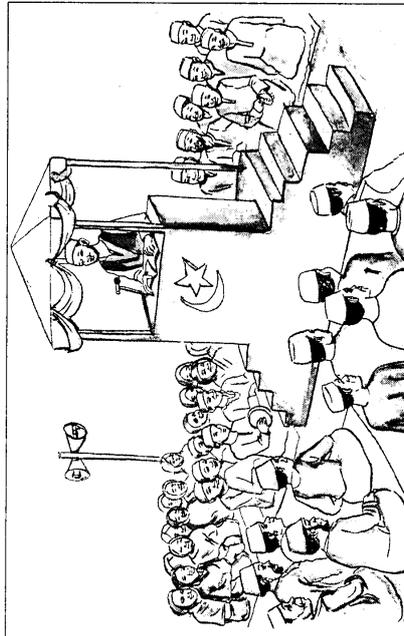


Fig. 1.15 Muslims at a Maulid celebration

4. Eid-el-Fitr

Muslims mark this day at the end of fasting during the holy month of Ramadan. The end of Ramadan depends on the sighting of the moon. On this day, Muslims give alms to the poor. They eat together and visit one another. It is one of the happiest days for Muslims.

5. Eid-el-Hajj

This is the day Muslims celebrate the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca. On the day of Eid-el-Hajj, 10th Dhul-Hajj according to the Islamic calendar, Muslims slaughter goats and sheep and eat together.

Significance of national festivals and public holidays

1. These days mark important events in our country.
2. The celebrations keep the history of the country alive since Tanzanians are reminded of what has taken place in their country.
3. During these events leaders pass important information to the public.
4. Public celebrations provide an opportunity for citizens to meet and share views, experience and knowledge.
5. Celebrating together enhances the unity of Tanzanians.
6. Annual celebrations impart on Tanzanians the culture of commemorating important national events.
7. These events help the leaders to identify problems in the society as the citizens highlight their problems through speeches, posters, drama or songs.

Chapter Summary

A nation is a group of people who have the same government, culture, economy and history. Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda are examples of nations.

There are seven components that make up our nation. These are:

1. country
2. sovereignty
3. government
4. people
5. language
6. culture
7. history.

A symbol is a sign that represents something. National symbols are signs which represent a nation. The Tanzanian national symbols are the national anthem, Uhuru Torch, national currency, coat of arms, national flag, Constitution and presidential standard.

National festivals are days when we celebrate important events. Civic national festivals in Tanzania are:

1. Independence Day (9th December)
2. Revolution Day (12th January)
3. Union Day (26th April)
4. Saba Saba Day (7th July)

Revision Exercise

A. Write T for the true statements and F for the false statements.

- Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda are nations.
- The national anthem is sang when the school flag is being hoisted.
- The Uhuru Torch was first lit on top of Mount Meru.
- Life skills enable a person to know what he or she should do and what he or she should not do in particular situations.
- One reason for protecting human rights is to lay a foundation for justice, peace and freedom.
- While a person is enjoying his or her rights, he or she can also interfere with the rights of others.
- The society abuses the rights of individuals when it stigmatizes HIV and AIDS sufferers.
- To apply for citizenship in Tanzania, one must be less than 21 years old.
- The deaf are people who cannot speak properly.
- Lack of proper education can be a cause of improper behaviour.

B. Choose the best answer from the choices given.

- The people of a particular country or state are called _____.
A. members B. country
C. citizens D. leaders
- The system of communicating in speech and writing that is used by the people of a particular country is called _____.
A. custom B. language
C. citizen D. culture
- The customs and beliefs of a particular group of people are called _____.
A. language B. history
C. nation D. culture
- The events that happened in the past are called _____.
A. history B. customs
C. beliefs D. culture
- A sign that represents something is called a _____.
A. custom B. symbol
C. language D. government

6. The national _____ is the official song of a nation.

- A. anthem B. currency
C. game D. history

7. The Tanzanian currency is the _____.

- A. coins B. notes
C. shilling D. dollar

8. Tanzania uses a system of laws and basic principles called a _____.

- A. Constitution B. currency
C. government D. coat of arms

9. The official seal or stamp of the government of Tanzania is called the _____.

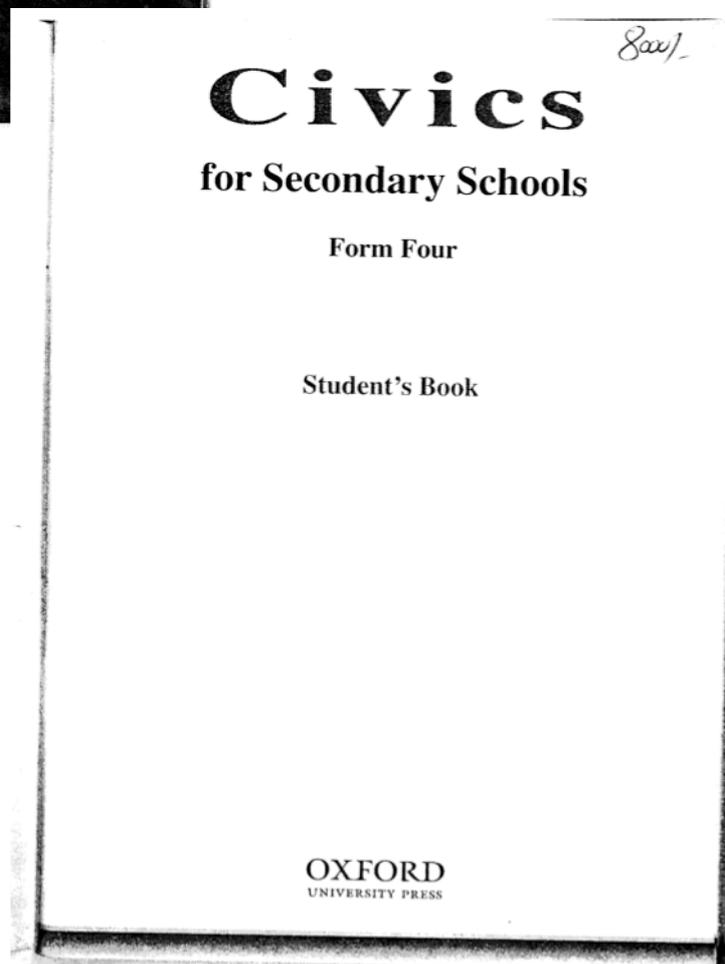
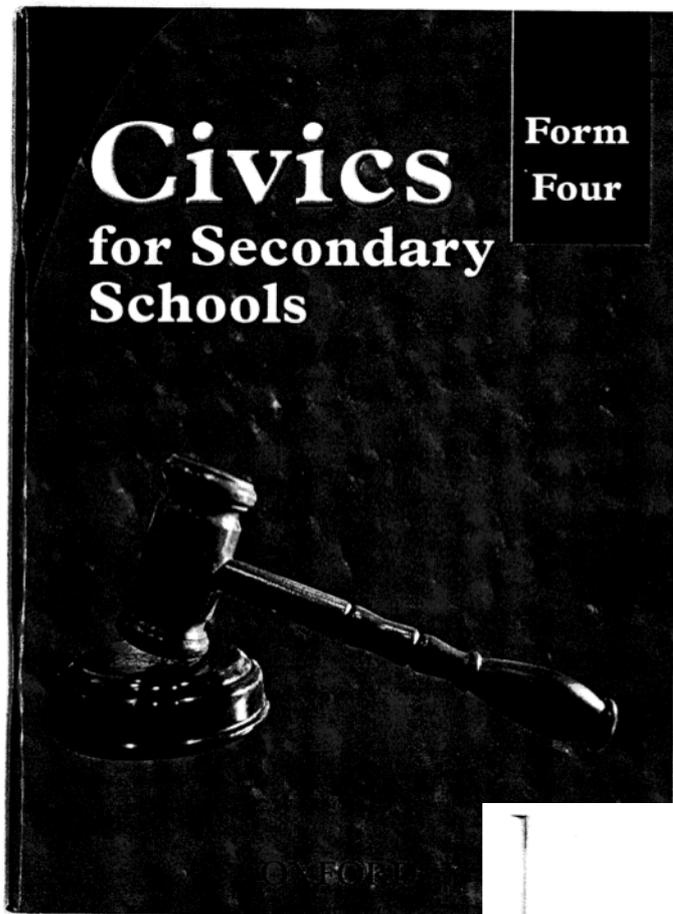
- A. presidential standard B. national currency
C. coat of arms D. government anthem

10. The national anthem is sang when _____.

- A. there is a wedding
B. the Prime Minister is about to address the nation
C. the regional commissioner visits schools
D. the President is about to inspect a guard of honour

C. Match the statements in list A with the correct statements in list B.

A	B
1. Tanganyika got its independence	(a) Presidential standard
2. Tanganyika became a republic	(b) Schools
3. TANU was formed	(c) 8 th August every year
4. Farmers' Day	(d) 9 th December, 1961
5. The end of the holy month of Ramadan	(e) Civil and political rights
6. Motto of the United Republic of Tanzania	(f) 7 th July, 1954
7. The state symbol of the President	(g) 9 th December, 1962
8. One source of life skills	(h) Eid-el-Fitr
9. One category of human rights	(i) Uhuru na Umoja
10. A problem caused by early marriage	(j) Family breakdown



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Revision Exercise 1.1

Section A

Answer the following questions by writing **True** for correct statement and **False** for incorrect statement.

1. Culture is the collection of traditions and customs that do not differentiate one society from another.
2. Culture changes over time due to the influence of external forces.
3. Sports and games, which are elements of culture, are used as part of entertainment, body exercise and earning of income.
4. Widow inheritance is free from the spread of HIV and AIDS.
5. Female Genital Mutilation cause much pain and excess

Section B

Write short notes on the following:

1. Customs
2. Traditions
3. Arts and crafts
4. Norms and values

Section C

Answer the following questions.

1. What is the importance of culture?
2. Choose any four negative aspects of culture you have learned in the class and write different measures that can be used to eliminate them.
3. Give examples of the arts and crafts found in your society.
4. "All culture is learned, but not everything learned is culture." Discuss.

Customs which lead to gender discrimination

Gender refers to differences in social roles and relations between males and females. Gender roles are learned through socialization and vary widely within and between cultures. They are affected by age, class, race, ethnicity, religion and the geography of the area, economic and political conditions. Sex refers to the biological difference between males and females. Gender discrimination refers to unequal treatment between males and females, where by one gender is given more priority in different opportunities.

Some of the customs which lead to gender discrimination in our societies are food taboos. Food taboos are the practice of restricting a certain group of people from eating certain types of food. For example, some Tanzanian societies do not allow pregnant women to eat eggs or fish. They believe a baby will be born without hair. This is not true and is just a mere illusion. Eggs are essential for the growth of the baby and the health of the mother. This taboo is bad because it makes some people lack important nutrients resulting into unhealthy bodies.

Discrimination of women and children in decision-making is one of the customs that contribute to gender discrimination. Women and children for a long time have been discriminated in decision-making, especially in issues concerning their lives, like marriages and property inheritance. Widows have been forced to marry brothers of their deceased husbands. Also, young girls have been forced to be married to adult persons. This leads to various problems which are normally associated with child delivery.

Wife battering is another custom which is associated with gender discrimination. There are certain tribes in Tanzania which consider the beating of wives as an accepted custom. This is not true, and it's against human rights.

Customs that lead to the spread of HIV and AIDS, and STIs

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), which is the cutting of female genital parts using the same knife or razor blade for several young girls, may lead to the chances of contracting HIV and AIDS, if some of the girls are infected with the virus.

Early marriages may also increase the possibility of contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV and AIDS. Forcing the girls to get married at a tender age when they have just reached puberty increases the spread of HIV and AIDS among the young girls.

Reckless sexual behaviour is one the customs of some societies. This also plays a role in advancing gender discrimination. Some people have a tendency of having unsafe sex when they are drunkard. This habit increases the possibility of contracting HIV and AIDS and other STIs.

Widow inheritance is another aspect of bad customs which must be discouraged because it may lead to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. This custom is

Various cultural items performed or made within our societies can be a source of income to people and to our nation. They can also create a source of income through tourism, as various cultural items performed or made within our societies attract tourists. Some of those cultural items are acts like sculpturing, dancing, art and crafts, and drama. These help people to earn a living.



Fig. 1.10 A tourist looking at a statue done by Tanzanians

The preservation of worthy cultural values helps in the preservation of sociocultural heritages and the society's cultural identity. Each society is proud of its culture. Culture helps to identify people of a certain society or nation. For instance, the use of vernacular languages to communicate can help to know the person belongs to which community.

The culture of a nation helps to pass skills from one generation to another. The young generation adapts different skills through the cultural activities performed by their elders. For example, when a parent does a certain job with his or her child, the child inherits the skills.

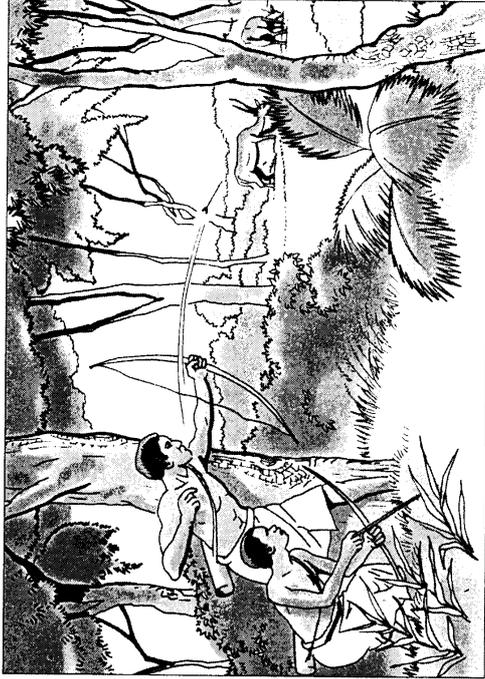


Fig. 1.11 A man with his son hunting animals

Some cultural tools are used in various activities, like pots are used in cooking; bows, arrows and spears are used in defence and hunting.

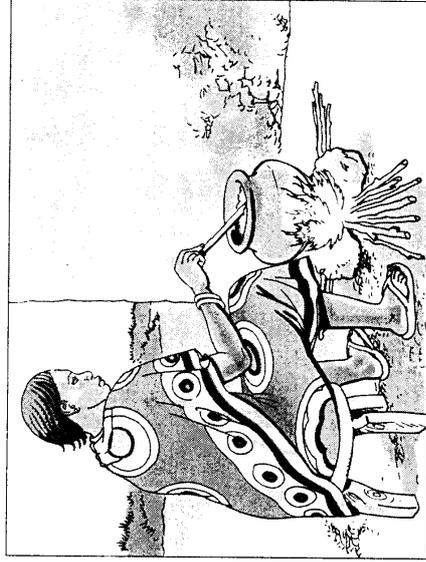


Fig. 1.12 A woman cooking using a pot

Problem-solving is another vital skill which people must acquire; it helps in addressing complex problems, minimizing conflicts and helps people to achieve their full potential.

There are various steps that are taken in problem-solving, including defining the problem, analysing it and finding possible solutions. Other steps are analysing the solutions and selecting the best solution.

Chapter summary

Culture refers to the ideals, social behaviour and customs of a group of people.

There are two main aspects of culture, namely material and non-material culture.

Elements of culture are necessary things which are combined together to form a culture of a given society. They include traditions, language, arts and crafts, clothing, norms, and values and beliefs.

Culture has the following characteristics:

1. Undergoes gradual change over time.
2. Its elements are interrelated.
3. For an effective transfer of culture from one generation to another, it has to be translated in terms of symbols.
4. Is shared by a group of people.

Importance of culture

1. Culture serves as people's identity from other societies.
2. A community gains character and personality of its own because of the culture of its people.
3. Culture acts as a prestige where people can be proud of their cultural activities and values.
4. Culture is a bond that ties the people of a region or community together.

The positive aspects of our cultural values

1. Increasing youth awareness on different social issues.
2. Helping people to be obedient to their elders.
3. Enhancing love and respect of people within the community.
4. Promoting working hard to the community members.
5. Emphasizing decent dressing.

Negative aspects of our cultural values

1. Killing of elders and albinos due to superstitious beliefs.
2. Widows' inheritance increases the spread of HIV and AIDS.

3. Discrimination of women and children in decision-making or inheriting property.
4. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) leads to excess bleeding that can cause death and other problems during delivery.
5. Early marriages brings a lot of problems to the girls during delivery.

Customs which lead to gender discrimination

Some of the customs which lead to gender discrimination in our societies are:

1. Food taboos.
2. Discrimination of women and children in decision-making.
3. Widows' inheritance.
4. Forcing young girls to be married to adult persons.
5. Wives battering.

Customs that lead to the spread of HIV and AIDS, and STIs

1. Forced marriages.
2. Reckless sexual behaviour.
3. Widows' inheritance.
4. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).

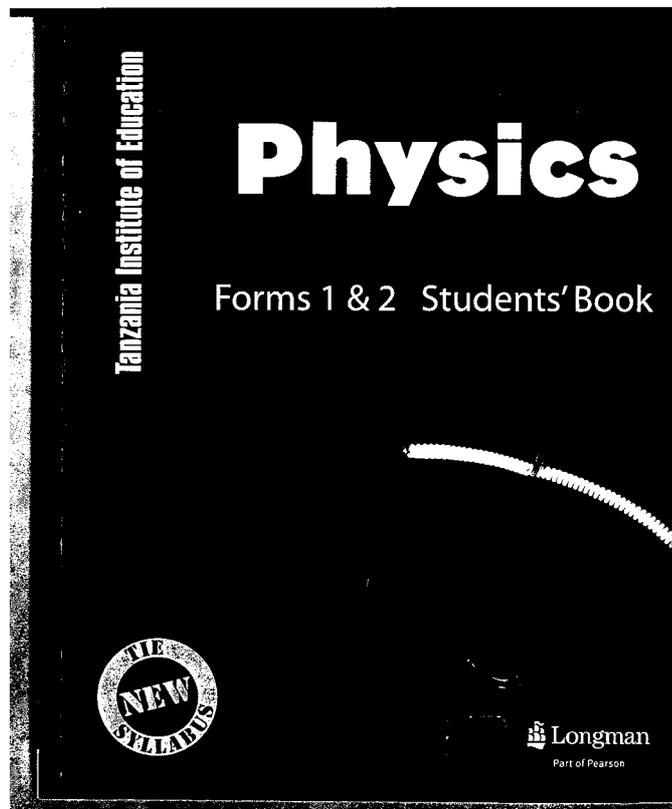
Impact of negative aspects of our customs

1. There may be a problem of street children by the custom of reckless sexual behaviour.
2. Deterioration of health which is due to food taboos.
3. The early marriages where young girls are forced out of school contribute to high rates of illiteracy.
4. Loss of lives due to female circumcision and wives battering.

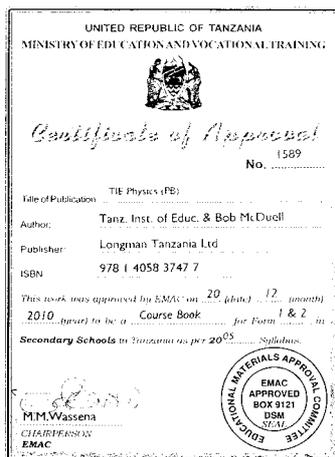
Groups and institutions used to promote and preserve our cultural values

Some of these groups and institutions include:

1. National Film Censorship Board
2. Department of museums, antiquities and national archives
3. The National Sports Council (NSC)
4. The National Swahili Council (BAKITA)
5. The Media Council of Tanzania (MCT)
6. Institute of Kiswahili Studies (IKS)
7. The National Arts Council (NAC)
8. The Book Development Council of Tanzania (BAMVITA)



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Physics

Forms 1 & 2 Students' Book

Bob McDuell

Tanzania Institute of Education



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Experiment 6.5: To investigate the relationship between tension and extension for a spiral spring

1. Set up the apparatus as shown in Figure 6.6.
2. Draw up a table to record the weight used, the force extending the spring and the extension.
3. Read and record the position of the pointer before a weight carrier is attached to the lower end of the spring. Find the weight of the weight carrier and then attach it to the lower end of the spring. Record the new position of the pointer. Find the extension produced by the weight carrier.
4. Add slotted weights in steps of say 0.1 N (10 g). (Large weights which can make the spring lose its elasticity should be avoided.) For each weight added, record the position of the pointer and the extension produced.

Copy and complete the table.

Force (N)					
Total extension (cm)					

Plot a graph of force (on the y-axis) against total extension (on the x-axis).

applied. This relationship was first discovered by Robert Hooke and it is known as Hooke's law. This is another way of saying that as the force increases the length of the spring increases proportionally.

If the experiment is continued with larger forces Hooke's law breaks down.

You would get a graph similar to Figure 6.8.

- OA – region of perfect elasticity;
- OB – region of elasticity;
- BCD – region of plastic deformation.

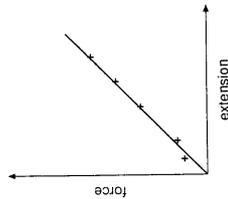


Figure 6.7 Graph of extension against force for a spiral spring under low tension.

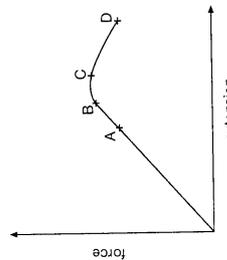


Figure 6.8 Graph of extension against force for a spiral spring under high tension.

Point A is called the **elastic limit**. The straight region OA of the graph has a slope K given by the ratio

$$K = \frac{\text{force}}{\text{extension}}$$

This ratio is called the **force constant** or **coefficient of stiffness** of the wire and it is expressed in newtons per metre (N/m).

Similar results are obtained if the experiment is repeated using a thin iron wire instead of a spring and slotted weights are added until the wire breaks. The shape of the graph illustrated in Figure 6.9 can be explained in terms of the molecular theory of elasticity. In region OA, the particles of the wire are pulled slightly further apart but can easily regain their positions after the applied force is removed. The wire is said to be perfectly elastic. In region

6.3. Adhesion and cohesion

By the end of this section you should be able to:

- explain adhesion and cohesion
 - apply adhesion and cohesion to everyday life
- Particles of substances are bound together by attractive forces. The forces of attraction between particles of the same substance are called **cohesive forces** and the forces of attraction between particles of different substances are called **adhesive forces**.

Experiment 6.6: Looking at drops of water and mercury

1. Take two clean, dry microscope slides.
2. Add a drop of water to one slide and a drop of mercury to the other.

Look at the results shown in Figure 6.10.



Figure 6.10 Experiment to show cohesive and adhesive forces.

A drop of water on clean glass (Figure 6.10(a)) spreads over the surface of the glass because the forces of adhesion are greater than those of cohesion. The particles of water are attracted to the glass more than to each other.

A drop of mercury (Figure 6.10(b)) remains spherical because the forces of cohesion are greater than those of adhesion. The particles of mercury are attracted to each other more than to the glass. So that is why mercury does not wet glass.

If you look at the surface of water in a measuring cylinder and the surface of mercury in a thermometer, you will see a difference.

In the measuring cylinder the upward curving surface or meniscus is formed where water meets the glass surface. In a thermometer the meniscus curves downward because the particles of mercury are more attracted to each other than to the glass surface.

OB, layers of particles of the wire slip slightly over each other when a force is applied; this results in deformation of the wire. The particles don't return to their exact original positions when the applied force is removed. In region BC, layers of particles of the wire slip over each other such that some particles are moved away from their original positions to fill dislocations in the wire structure. The wire is then said to suffer **permanent deformation**. When unloaded, the wire does not retain its original shape and length any longer. The region BCD is termed **plastic**.

Uses of elasticity

We all use elastic bands for all sorts of jobs. An elastic band stretches when a force is applied. On removing the force the elastic band goes back to its original length.

Look at the Figure 6.9.

Rakesh is using a catapult to project a stone.

When he pulls back on the catapult, the elastic stretches. Potential energy is stored.

When the stone is released the potential energy is converted to kinetic energy and the stone is projected. The elastic goes back to its original length.



Figure 6.9 Using a catapult.

A car's suspension system has springs within it. When the car goes over a bump the spring is compressed. After the car has passed over the bump, the spring goes back to its original size. Some of the clothes you wear may contain elastic. This is either to help to keep them on or to help the garment to keep its shape.

10.5 Lightning and thunderstorms

By the end of this section you should be able to:

- explain the distribution of charges in a thunderstorm and why lightning occurs

Lightning is a giant electric spark formed by the discharge of atmospheric electricity. Electric charge builds up in storm clouds as tiny water droplets are carried upwards by updrafts of air. As they rise, the water droplets turn to ice. Some of the ice particles grow into larger pieces called hail, while others remain very small. Larger pieces of hail fall back down through the cloud, bumping into smaller ice particles that are rising. These collisions result in electrons being transferred from the small ice particles to the larger hail, so the storm cloud ends up with a negative charge at the bottom of the cloud and a positive charge at the top.

The negative charge at the bottom of a cloud repels the electrons near the surface of the ground, so the ground and any objects on it gain a positive charge. The electrons that make the negative charge in the cloud are attracted to the positive charge at the top of the cloud, as well as to the positive charge in neighbouring clouds and on the ground.

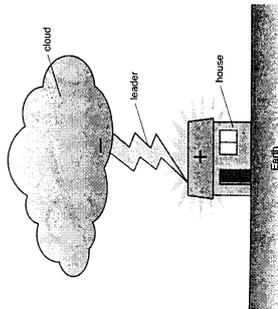


Figure 10.14 Lightning striking a house.

If the attraction is great enough, electrons will move towards the positive charge in a zigzag path, called a stepped leader. Each step is about 50 m long. Once a complete path has been formed, charge flows through the channel, causing it to

become exceedingly hot and glow brightly. The conducting channel will be seen as a flash of light called lightning and lasts for a very short time. The air along the path of the lightning undergoes rapid expansion and contraction due to overheating. This explosion produces the audible sound called thunder.

10.6 Lightning conductor

The heating effect of lightning can cause severe burning and destruction of any objects it strikes. High points on the Earth's surface, such as mountains, trees and tall buildings, have high density electric charges, and are therefore liable to be struck by lightning. Each year lightning kills many people directly and causes much damage as a result of fires.

Benjamin Franklin invented the lightning conductor, which protects buildings from being damaged by lightning. A lightning conductor consists of a tall copper rod that has one or more spikes at its top end and a large copper plate at its base. The copper plate should be buried in damp earth. The copper rod should be very close to and taller than the building it is to protect (Figure 10.16).

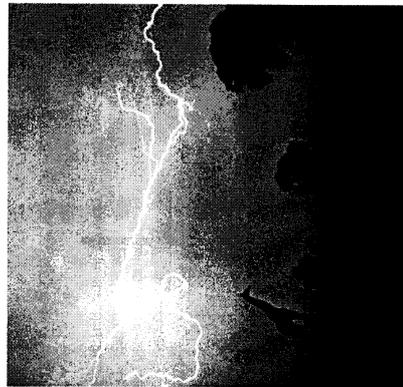


Figure 10.15 Lightning.

When a thundercloud approaches, the lightning conductor is charged by induction with the opposite charge to that on the nearby charged cloud. If the electric charges are high enough for lightning to discharge to occur, the lightning conductor leads the lightning safely to the earth. Also a charged lightning conductor may stream off charges from its sharp point in the form of an electric 'wind' of opposite charge to the clouds above, which will neutralize the charge on the dangerous cloud.

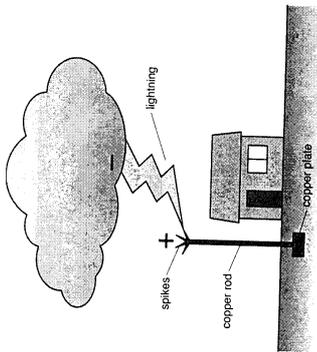


Figure 10.16 Lightning conductor.

End of topic questions

- Explain how electric charges may be transferred from one body to another through friction.
 - A piece of ebonite rod is rubbed with some fur. How is the fur charged in this case?
- Show, with the aid of diagrams, how electric charge may be transferred from a charged body to another body through direct contact.
 - Describe an experiment which illustrates the process of charging by direct contact.

- Draw a well-labelled diagram of the gold leaf electroscope. How does this instrument operate?
- What is meant by electrostatic induction?
 - How is the gold leaf electroscope charged by induction?
- Some electric charge is passed onto a conducting surface with the shape shown in Figure 10.17. The different parts of the surface are labelled A to F.

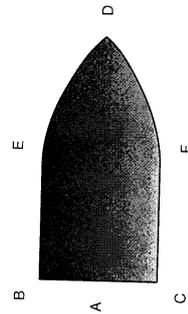
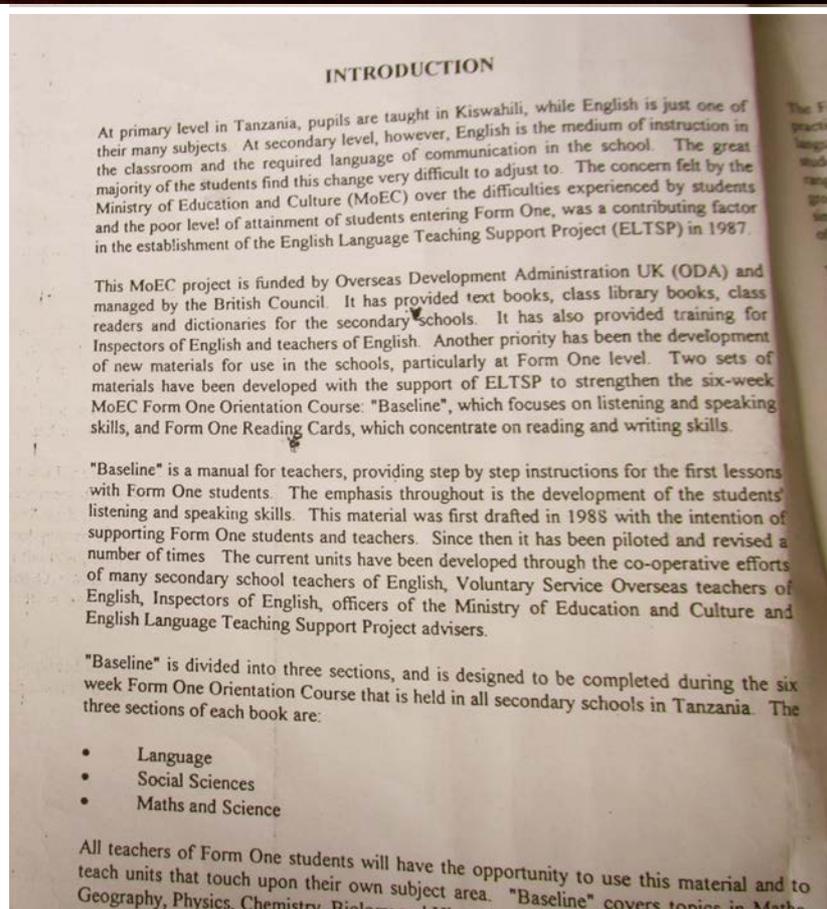
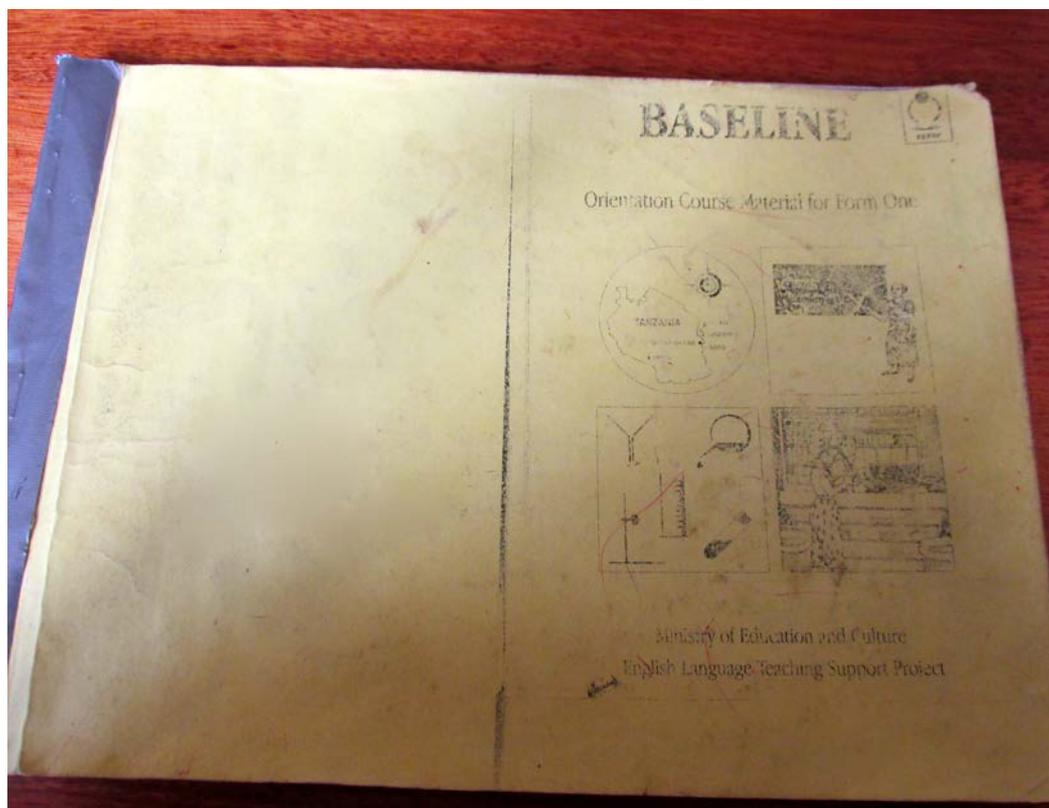


Figure 10.17 A conducting surface.

- Which part of the surface has the largest concentration of charge?
- Which part of the surface has the smallest concentration of charge?

- How would you show experimentally that static electric charges stay on the outside of a conductor?
 - Explain how a charged body may be made to lose its electric charge.
- Describe the structure and mode of action of a lightning conductor.
- It took scientists a long time to understand what lightning was. It was once believed it was the anger of Gods. Find out about the work of Georg Wilhelm Richmann (who was killed by lightning in 1753), Thomas-François Dalibard and Benjamin Franklin.

2. "Baseline - Orientation Course Material"



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The Form One Orientation Course is designed to provide an intensive English language practice with the aim of substantially improving each student's ability to cope with the language demands of their many different subjects. The "Baseline" units provide the students with a wide range of opportunities for listening and speaking practice and a wide range of topics to consider. There is provision for a considerable amount of pair work and group work and this allows plenty of chance for guided student practice. There are many simple illustrations in the book that teachers can draw onto the blackboard, or onto pieces of card or paper.

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The English Language Teaching Support Project would like to thank the Ministry of Education and Culture for supporting the preparation and piloting of the materials, Longman Group for permission to use their illustrations which appear on pages 99, 202 and 236 of the Longman Primary Dictionary and the Overseas Development Administration (UK) for providing the funding which made possible the publication of "Baseline"

English Language Teaching Support Project,
Ministry of Education and Culture,
P.O. Box 9121,
Dar es Salaam, 1994.

Published by Ben and Company Ltd,
Dar es Salaam, 1994.

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NUMBER BINGO

UNIT 9 (MS)

To practise using basic numbers.

Single period.
Aims: To practise using basic numbers.
Time: 10-15 minutes.
Teaching aids: A set of squares as shown below.

1. For the students to draw a set of squares as shown below.

2. Ask them to fill the squares with any sixteen different numbers between 1-40. For example:

3	17	28	1
34	14	8	2
31	26	11	36
27	13	6	9

3. Read out your numbers in any order, while ticking off the numbers from your own list one at a time. The students cross out their squares if numbers on his/her paper are the same as the numbers the teacher is calling out. The first student to cross out all the squares shouts BINGO! and is the winner.

Repeat with a new set of squares and numbers. Variations:

- Use tens/hundreds only
- Students write the numbers in words
- Students play the game in groups

MEASUREMENTS (1)

UNIT 9 (MS)

Aims: To practise millimetres, centimetres, metres, kilometres; how tall are you? How tall are you? How tall are you?
Time: Double period.
Teaching aids: Metre ruler

Steps:
1. Write on the blackboard

HEIGHT/LENGTH	
1 kilometre (1km)	= 1000 metres (1000m)
1 metre (1m)	= 100 centimetres (100 cm)
1 centimetre (1cm)	= 10 millimetres (10mm)

Ask students to copy down the table.

2. Meanwhile, write on the other side of the blackboard

How tall are you?	I'm _____ m
How tall is she/he?	I don't know.

3. When they've finished writing ask a student, "How tall are you?" If she/he doesn't know, call her/him out and get another student to measure her/him with a ruler. The result on the blackboard. e.g.

Ali / Mary is 1 metre 20 cms
"How tall are you?"
"I am 1 metre 20 centimetres tall."

4. In groups of 4, students measure each other and prepare a simple table to order of height, e.g.

Peter	1m 64cms
Hadja	1m 59cms
Mary	1m 56cms
Ali	1m 48cms

3. MOCK examination

Biology – Form 2

Candidate's Exam No: _____

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA		
  DISTRICT COUNCIL		
FORM TWO MOCK EXAMINATIONS, 2014		
CODE: 0033	BIOLOGY	
TIME: 2½ HRS	DATE: 12/08/2014	
INSTRUCTIONS:		
1. This paper consists of sections A, B and C		
2. Answer all questions from sections A and B and ONE question from section C.		
3. All answer must be written in a black or blue ink EXCEPT for diagrams which must be drawn in pencil.		
4. Write your examination number at the top right corner of every page.		
5. Cell phones or calculators are not allowed in the examination room		
FOR EXAMINER'S USE ONLY		
QUESTION NUMBER	SCORES	INITIALS OF EXAMINER
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
TOTAL		
<i>This paper consists of four printed pages</i>		

Biology Form II Page 1 of 4

SECTION A: (30 MARKS)

1. Select the correct answer in each item and write its letter beside its corresponding item number.
 - (i) The following are sets of characteristics of living organisms except: ()
 - (a) Nutrition, Irritability and growth (c) Breathing, definite shape, sensitivity and locomotion
 - (b) Reproduction, Death, Excretion and movement (d) Growth, movement, Respiration and Reproduction.
 - (ii) The parasite that causes malaria is ()
 - (a) Female anopheles mosquito (b) Plasmodium (c) Tsetse fly (d) Trypanosome
 - (iii) A Biologists discovered a new cell in the culture. The new cell had a distinct cell wall but did not have a definite nucleus. The cell is most likely to be ()
 - (a) Volcanic activities (b) Burning of organic matter (c) Photosynthesis (d) Respiration
 - (a) Anaemia (b) Haemophilia (c) Haemolysis (d) Leukemia
 - (iv) Carbon dioxide is reduced in the atmosphere through ()
 - (a) Botany and taxonomy (c) Botany and Zoology
 - (b) Zoology and Anatomy (d) Genetics and Nutrition
 - (v) The condition in which there is no enough red blood cells in the body is known as: ()
 - (a) Community (b) Ecosystem (c) Population (d) Gems
 - (a) Amoeba (b) Euglena (c) Paramecium (d) Plasmodium
 - (vi) The main branches of Biology are: ()
 - (a) Symbiosis (b) Commensalism (c) Mutualism (d) Parasitism
 - (vii) A term that describes organism of the same species living in a particular geographical area at the time ()
 - (a) Transpiration (b) Guatation (c) Transpiration pull (d) Evaporation
 - (viii) _____ is a photosynthetic protozoan ()
 - (a) Amoeba (b) Euglena (c) Paramecium (d) Plasmodium
 - (ix) _____ is a feeding relationship between two different species whereby both benefit from their association ()
 - (a) Transpiration (b) Guatation (c) Transpiration pull (d) Evaporation
 - (x) The loss of water from plants in form of water vapour droplets during night time is called _____. ()
 - (a) Transpiration (b) Guatation (c) Transpiration pull (d) Evaporation
2. The following are true and false questions. Write TRUE if the statement is correct and FALSE if the statement is incorrect.
 - i. The pericardium secrete fluid which lubricate the heart when working _____
 - ii. The following organisms are in the same trophic level Goat, Cow, Hyena, Rabbits and Fungus _____
 - iii. The respiratory organs of all living organisms are the same _____
 - iv. Blood, heart, kidney, liver, pancreas are the examples of tissues _____
 - v. Salivary amylase is the enzymes which digest starch in the mouth _____
 - vi. Berberi results from deficiency of iron in the body _____
 - vii. Right ventricle pumps oxygenated blood away from the heart _____
 - viii. Canning and refrigeration are modern methods of food preservation _____
 - ix. Weak bones and teeth in man is a result of lacking iron in the body _____
 - x. Cell membrane controls the amount of water in the cell _____
3. The following are matching items. Match a phrases or items in LIST A with those in LIST B by writing its letter against the number in LIST A

	LIST A	LIST B
i.	The process of breaking down food substances in living cell in absence of oxygen	A. Respecting elders and cleaning clothes
ii.	Lymphatic inflammation disease	B. Sort
iii.	The transportation of soluble food product of photosynthesis within the plant	C. Nitrogen
iv.	The factor which gives the positively and negatively blood groups	D. Cobalt
v.	Examples of macro – element needed by plant	E. Transpiration
vi.	Examples of risky behaviour	F. Translocation
vii.	Abiotic components of the natural environment	G. Air and water bodies
viii.	They minimize accidents when working in the laboratory	H. Lymph nodes
ix.	Vitamin deficiency due to lack of vitamin A	I. Night blindness
x.	Good manner and personal hygiene	J. Wind
		K. Blood vessel
		L. Alcoholism and drug abuse
		M. Elephantalasis
		N. Rhesus factor
		O. Stoma
		P. Elephantalasis
		Q. Rhesus factor

ANSWERS	R	Warning signs
LIST A	i	Spiracle
LIST B	ii	Anaerobic respiration
	iii	Red blood cells
	iv	White blood cells

ANSWERS	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
LIST A										
LIST B										

SECTION B (50 MARKS)

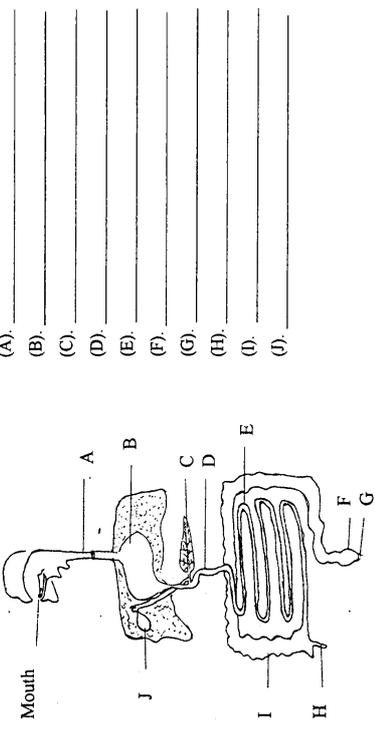
4. Define the following terms
 - (i) Blood transfusion: _____
 - (ii) Respiration: _____
 - (iii) Translocation: _____
 - (iv) Aerobic respiration: _____
 - (v) Mass flow: _____
5. Write five procedures to take during blood transfusion
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

(b) Fill the blanks for the below blood transmission. Put a tick (✓) for compatible and (X) for incompatible blood group.

DONOR	RECIPIENT			
	A	B	AB	O
A				
B				
AB				
O				

6. Study the diagram below then answer the questions which follows.

(i) Name the labeling from A – J



Candidate's Examination No: _____

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA



FORM TWO MOCK EXAMINATION – AUGUST 2014

CIVICS

CODE: 0011
TIME: 2:30 HOURS

DATE: 11/08/2014

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This paper consists of section A and B.
2. Answer ALL questions in all questions
3. All answers must be written in the spaces provided.
4. All writing must be in black or blue pen.

FOR EXAMINER'S USE ONLY		
QUESTION NUMBER	SCORE	INITIALS OF EXAMINER
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
TOTAL MARKS		

This paper consists of 4 printed pages.

SECTION A (50 MARKS)

1. Read the following statements very carefully and write a letter of the correct answer in the box provided

- (i) A nation is _____
 (a) A group of Tanzanians who speak Kiswahili (b) People who speak Kiswahili and English properly
 (c) A group of people who share the same government, culture, economy and history ()
 (d) A community of people who live together ()
- (ii) A form of Government where a country is governed by a president and other politicians who are elected by the people is called? (a) Union (b) Republic (c) Monarchy (d) Federation ()
- (iii) In a democratic country:-
 (a) All people are equal before the law (c) Leaders are above the law ()
 (b) President has power to do anything he/she wants (d) Police has power to punish criminals ()
- (iv) A political system in a country where by many political parties operate legally is called?
 (a) Democracy (b) Opposition party (c) Respect for human right (d) Multiparty democracy ()
- (v) Tanzania uses a system of laws and basic principles called _____
 (a) Currency (b) Coat of arms (c) Constitution (d) Government ()
- (vi) The unpleasant events which occurs on roads leading to damage of property and loss of life are known as -
 (a) Road incidents (b) Road traffic signs (c) Traffic signs (d) Road accidents ()
- (vii) Making changes in the existing constitution is named as constitutional.
 (a) Adjustment (b) Amendments (c) Changes (d) Referendum ()
- (viii) One importance of solving social problems is that:-
 (a) It helps in gathering information (c) There is a problem solving process ()
 (b) It increases poverty (d) It helps to avoid conflicts ()
- (ix) Difficulties that a community faces are called?
 (a) Problem solving (c) Social problems ()
 (b) Problem solving techniques (d) Importance of problem solving technique ()
- (x) The organ which is responsible for making laws of the country is _____
 (a) Executive (b) Judiciary (c) Legislature (d) Government ()

Question	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
Answer										

2. Match the items in LIST A against those in LIST B by writing the letter of the correct response against its number in A.

	LIST A	LIST B
i.	A problem caused by early marriage	A Democracy
ii.	Tanganyika got her independence	B Comes into power without popular election
iii.	The smallest unit of local government	C Life skills
iv.	Transparency	D Family breakdown
v.	Checks and balances	E 18 th August every year
vi.	Family pillars	F 7 th July 1954
vii.	1992	G Civil and political rights
viii.	Is the form of government in which people rule	H 9 th December 1961
ix.	Non democratic government	I Separation of power
x.	Interpreting laws to the people	J Judiciary
		K Love, respect, cooperation peace
		L Is the village government
		M The ward development council
		N Principle of democracy
		O Tree and Fair election
		P Establishment of multiparty system

LIST A	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
LIST B										

3. The following statements are either correct or not correct. Write TRUE if the statement is correct or FALSE if the statement is not correct.

- (i) Peace, murder, love, respect and proper moral are pillars of family stability. _____
 (ii) The executive in Tanzania is made up of the president cabinet and civil service. _____
 (iii) The speaker of the assembly is appointed by president. _____
 (iv) The independence constitution of 1961 was made by the British colonialist. _____
 (v) The first prime minister of Tanganyika was the late Mr. Rashid Mfalume Kawawa _____
 (vi) Child labour is one of the abuses of children rights. _____
 (vii) Hard working and fighting are examples of proper behaviour. _____
 (viii) Paying bride is one of the customs which promote inequality between men and women _____
 (ix) Medical Women Association of Tanzania (MEWATA) is responsible in providing women with medical aid _____
 (x) Work gives a person respect _____

SECTION B (50 MARKS)

4. Read the passage and then answer the questions that follow:

A non – democratic government is a form of government which normally does not come to power by popular election. It is the government which comes to power without the majority will and people's legitimacy. It most cases a non – democratic government results from coup d'etat, manipulation of election process or changing a democratic government into dictatorship after the leader has attained power through elections. Adolf Hitler of Germany is one examples of a person who led his country using dictatorship style. He had come to power through popular election but changed into dictator there after.

In this kind of Government, only one person or small group of people rule. They are people who are either economically powerful or socially influential or people who are well equipped militarily with supporters. They are ones who determine the control of the Government. They are also the people responsible for decision making in the society. A good example of non-democratic government is the totalitarian government like that of Hitler of the Germany and Mussolini of Italy. Other examples of authoritarian or dictatorship government are those of the former Zaire under Mobutu Seseeko and Uganda under Idd Amin. The basic feature of all non democratic government is the absence of democratic principles.

QUESTIONS

- (i). Suggest the suitable title for this passage _____

- (ii). According to the passage briefly explain how does non – democratic government comes into power. _____

- (iii). According to the passage mention two examples of non – democratic government leaders.
 (a). _____
 (b). _____
- (iv). With reference to the passage non - democratic government is defined as _____

- (v). What do you understand by the word "coup de'tat" as used in the first paragraph _____

5. Write short notes on the following terms:-
 (i). Democracy _____

Candidate's Exam No. _____

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA		
DISTRICT COUNCIL		
FORM TWO MOCK EXAMINATIONS, 2014		
CODE: 031	PHYSICS	DATE: 14/08/2014
TIME: 2½ HRS		
INSTRUCTIONS:		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This paper consists of sections A, B and C 2. Answer all questions in all sections. 3. All answers must be written in a black or blue ink EXCEPT drawings which must be in pencil. 4. All answers must be written in the space provided. 5. Write your examination number at the top right corner of every page. 6. Cell phones or calculators are not allowed in the examination room 7. You may use the following constants in your calculations: Density of water = 1g/cm^3 or 1000Kg/m^3 Density of mercury = 13.6g/cm^3 or 13600Kg/m^3 Acceleration due to gravity = 10m/s^2 or 10N/Kg At standard Temperature and pressure (S. T. P) $T = 273\text{K}$, $P = 760\text{mmHg}$ 		
FOR EXAMINER'S USE ONLY		
QUESTION NUMBER	SCORES	INITIALS OF EXAMINER
1		
2		
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7		
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TOTAL		

SECTION A: (20 MARKS)

1. This section consists of twenty multiple choice questions. Write the letter of the correct answer against the item number.
- (i) An engineer wanted to measure the diameter of a wire to the accuracy of three decimal places. Which of the following instruments would you recommend to be used.
 (a) Engineers caliper (b) Metre rule (c) Micrometer Screw gauge (d) Vernier caliper ()
- (ii) The property of materials to recover its original shape and size after the removal of a stretching forces is called.
 (a) Elasticity (b) Plasticity (c) Hook's Law (d) Cohesivity ()
- (iii) Which of the following is the most appropriate extinguisher for fire from class E
 (a) Dry powder (b) Alcohol (c) Carbon dioxide (d) Water ()
- (iv) The materials that permits some electrons to flow freely from atom to atom within the material.
 (a) Insulate (b) Conductor (c) Contact (d) Induction ()
- (v) A power of 0.625 W was dissipated by a force which moves an object through a distance 1.5M in 1 minute. The force used was,
 (a) 25J (b) 37.5 N (c) 25 N (d) 25 W ()
- (vi) The thermometric liquid used for making thermometer for measuring very low temperature is,
 (a) Mercury (b) Water (c) Easter (d) Alcohol ()
- (vii) The ability of an object to float is called.
 (a) Floatation (b) Law of Floatation (c) Archimedes Principal (d) Buoyancy ()
- (viii) Material that are very sensitive to magnetic field are said to be, (a) Ferromagnetic materials
 (b) Diamagnetic materials (c) Paramagnetic materials (d) Magnetic domain ()
- (ix) A vernier scale read 0.2mm when closed and 5.7mm when used to measure the diameter of a piece of wire. What is the true diameter of the wire
 (a) 0.2mm (b) 5.5 mm (c) 5.9 mm (d) 5.7 mm ()
- (x) A form of energy that can be persistently used without running out is said to be,
 (a) Efficient (b) Renewable (c) Non-renewable (d) Environment friendly. ()
- (xi) An instrument which is used to observe object around obstacles is called,
 (a) Microscope (b) Periscope (c) Plane glass (d) Telescope ()
- (xii) The relationship between pressure and area is that on,
 (a) Decreasing area, pressure decrease (c) decreasing pressure, volume increase
 (b) Changing area, nothing happen (d) Increasing area, pressure decrease ()
- (xiii) A temperature of 100°F equal to,
 (a) 33.3°C (b) 37.8°C (c) 36.7°C (d) 38.8°C ()
- (xiv) An object with low centre of gravity and wide base is;
 (a) Un equilibrium (b) Stable (c) Neutral (d) Unstable ()
- (xv) In a four pulley system, the mechanical advantage (M. A) is given as
 (a) 4 (b) 1/2 (c) 8 (d) 1/8 ()
- (xvi) An electric circuit has two capacitor, 10UF and 20UF arrange in parallel to a cell. The total capacitance is,
 (a) 30 UF (b) 0.5 UF (c) 2 UF (d) 6.67 UF ()
- (xvii) A current electricity is measured in
 (a) Amperes (b) Coulombs (c) ohms (d) Volts ()
- (xviii) The people who study and work professionally in the field of physics are called,
 (a) Physics (b) Physicists (c) Mathematicists (d) technologist ()

- (xix) Which of the following statements about speed and velocity is false
 (a) Speed and velocity are both measured in ms^{-1} (b) Velocity must indicate a direction ()
 (c) Speed must indicate both magnitude and direction (d) Velocity indicates both the magnitude of the speed and the direction that an object travels away from a reference point ()
- (xx) If a student gets an electric shock and falls down unconscious in a physics laboratory which of the following would you do first to help the victim?
 (a) Administer breathing exercise (b) Call a medical doctor immediately ()
 (c) Call other students to surround the victim (d) Call a physics teacher to give the victim medicine ()

SECTION B: (40 MARKS)

2. Match each item in List A with a corresponds in List B by writing its letter below the number of the corresponding item in the table provided:-

	LIST A	LIST B
i.	Magnetic field is zero	A. Luminous object
ii.	Extension of spring is proportional to the applied force	B. Voltmeter
iii.	Product of main velocity	C. Principle of moments
iv.	Mass	D. Non-luminous object
v.	Energy from hot underground rocks	E. Ammeter
vi.	Bodies that give out light	F. Neutral point
vii.	Occurs when the anticlockwise moments balance clockwise moments	G. Magnetic flux
viii.	Instrument for measuring electric current	H. Hook's Law
		I. Geothermal energy
		J. Renewable energy
		K. Momentum
		L. Energy from firewood
		M. Beam balance
		N. Spring balance

ANSWERS

- LIST A: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii
 LIST B: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N
3. i. The area under the curve of velocity time graph represent _____
 ii. _____ is the point where the force of gravity can be considered to act.
 iii. The tendency of an object to remain at rest constant motion along a straight line is called _____
 iv. Different between Fundamental and derived quantities _____
 v. An object weights 500 N in air and 340 N when immersed in alcohol. Find upthrust of the object _____
4. a. (i) Three state of matter are (i) _____ (ii) _____ (iii) _____
 (b) Lubricants are mostly applied in machines parts in order to _____
 (c) Draw a magnetic lines of force of a bar magnet showing its poles _____
5. (a) Mention three states of equilibrium (i) _____ (ii) _____
 (b) Calculate the mechanical advantage of a simple machine which has a velocity ratio of 5 and efficiency of 80% _____
6. (a) What is Force: _____

Appendix B – Interviews

Headmaster, governmental school (HG)

Date: 7/8/2014 (26:58min.)

- 1 *So, this school is a public secondary school. How many students go to school here at*
2 *the moment?*
- 3 At this school, the total number is 602. Means that the boys are 248 and the girls 354.
- 4 *And how many forms are there?*
- 5 Is one to four, yes.
- 6 *And how many subjects?*
- 7 Is nine subjects. It is Kiswahili, History, Civics, English, Biology, Chemistry,
8 Physics, Mathematics, and. Which is missing?
- 9 *Maybe Geography?*
- 10 Yes, yes, Geography. Are nine subjects.
- 11 *Who decides which subjects are taught in which form?*
- 12 It is the nation. It is given for all schools which are found in Tanzania. The system is
13 run for all schools in the country. Is the same system, the same authority, the same
14 instructions. So everything is the same.
- 15 *Ok.*
- 16 And the same examination is given. We have the same examination for each level.
17 We have two examinations nationwide. Form Two Examination and Form Four
18 National Examination.
- 19 *Ok. And when students finish secondary school here, what do most of them do*
20 *afterwards?*
- 21 Some of them who are passing in the higher grades, they are joining form five and six
22 for two years. So form five is one year and then they join form six. And then after that
23 they just join national service for two monthes and then they can join the university.
24 And others that are having the medium basis they can join teaching, nurses,
25 agriculture sectors and other departments.
- 26 *So this is after form four?*
- 27 Yes. Yes.
- 28 *How many students complete secondary school here and continue with programmes*

29 *in other schools or colleges?*

30 Yes, we can say many. We can say many if we compare to other schools. It is a good
31 number for form five. For good example, for this year, I'm having 36 students are
32 going to join form five. So we had one ten, 110 students for last year. So 36 have
33 joined form five and some are going to join the teaching sector, nurses and other
34 departments.

35 *And how many students are in form four right now?*

36 Yes. In this year we have in form four, we have 93 students in form four. Boys are 35
37 and girls are 58. The total number is 93.

38 *Where do the students generally come from?*

39 We have we have, in the beginning there were just around coming from areas here.
40 But being having hostels, so I have different parts where students come from. For
41 example, some of them are from -----, from -----, -----, -----,
42 -----.

43 *So, also from far away.*

44 Yes.

45 *And when was the school started?*

46 It was established in two thousand and, it is two hundred, two hundred and five.

47 *Ok, 2005.*

48 Yes.

49 *Have you been the headmaster of this school from the start?*

50 I came here 2007.

51 *May I ask where you originally come from.*

52 Yes. I came here from ----- region.

53 *Ok, thank you. Could you give me some information concerning the school fees? In
54 which way and how much do the students' parents usually contribute?*

55 Ok. Their contribution is done in this way that half is paid by the government and half
56 is paid by the parents. Being having hostels, some they pay money and some they pay
57 food directly. They bring food, grains like maize, beans and rice, they bring here. So
58 the school fees, half is paid by the government and half is paid the parents and
59 guardians. But the bad luck is if the student is orphan, it is just paid for one part, the
60 government, and sometimes delay pay, but other assistance is not done. Because they
61 are orphans.

62 *I see. Ok. Do you know why parents choose this school for their children?*

63 Why do they choose?

64 *Yes. For instance, what does this school offer for their children?*

65 I think so because having hostel, having hostel, is a special school. Other are having
66 day schools, so day schools also makes people to run away. They like schools where
67 students can also stay in the hostel and being served, being guarded by teachers all the
68 time. So we can say that it is a special school also.

break (2 min)

69 *I would like to continue by talking about the teachers. How many teachers work at*
70 *this school at the moment?*

71 We have now, is nineteen teachers.

72 *Nineteen?*

73 Yes.

74 *Are there male and female teachers?*

75 Yes. We are having, we are having five ladies and then fourteen men.

76 *Ok. Where do they stay?*

77 Within the school.

78 *Within the school. So, all of them live here?*

79 Yes, all of them. We have the houses. So, in the school.

80 *As you already know, I have a special interest for languages. Therefore, it would be*
81 *interesting to know which languages are used in this school?*

82 In the teaching there are instructions, instructions is given in English.

83 *Mhm.*

84 But outside it is very difficult how to control. They are born here, within the area, so
85 most them are speaking the vernacular language. So they speak Kiswahili, -----
86 and other.

87 *Ok.*

88 So we just advise and of course we just guide them. Guide them that the useful, that
89 the important language is English. So we just remind them that English is the best one
90 because it is the only language they can use for their examinations. So it is very
91 important, it is not for option but it is, it must be spoken in all the time. But because of
92 the environment itself sometimes it is so difficult how to force them to speak English

93 all the time.

94 *Which languages do the teachers speak with the students?*

95 Outside?

96 *For instance.*

97 Outside sometimes they speak Kiswahili but we just we insist to speak English all the
98 time. Outside and in the classes.

99 *Since when has the secondary school system in Tanzania been this way, regarding*
100 *English?*

101 Always. It is guided that way but now is, sometimes it is environmental reasons that
102 teachers also born here and they always speak Kiswahili, so is very easy for them to
103 speak Kiswahili. So, but it is instructed that we must speak English in the schools all
104 the time, outside and in.

105 *Ok. And where is this rule stated?*

106 Is the national policy. Of course the instruction is given. But you see, even in the
107 Parliament they mix Kiswahili and English. But is the national rule.

108 *What is your experience, apart from the educational sector, in which other areas of*
109 *life is English used in Tanzania? Today, when do people use English in Tanzania?*

110 Yes. Ehm. Especially to the universities. In learning institutions all the time they use
111 English. And other areas. Commercial areas where they work with other people like
112 for instance the foreigners, they must use English all the time. So, within the country
113 in special areas where they use English all the time. And ehm and ehm we say
114 international schools. International schools, they are using English all the time, within
115 the country.

116 *International schools.*

117 Yes.

(short break)

118 *Ok. So, you said, at this school, teachers use English in all their subjects.*

119 Yes.

120 *And in which situations would you say that it is ok to switch to Kiswahili?*

121 No. No, we don't, we don't do that. But they do themselves as the teachers, sometimes
122 in their classes. Ehm. For those subjects which are having no apparatus, like Biology or
123 other things, they can sometimes, for them its very difficult how to explain. If they
124 are having teaching aids, it is fine, they can understand easier. But if they are don't
125 using teaching aids, it is very difficult to take the knowledge of students in the idea.
126 Sometimes they speak Kiswahili. But we don't allow this. We don't allow. You must

127 use teaching aids. You must. They must use teaching aids so that to avoid speaking
 128 Kiswahili.

129 *What kind of teaching aids are there for teachers?*

130 They can use drawings, sometimes material things, sometimes pictures. So is very
 131 easier to explain what they want to say.

132 *And, as at primary school level Kiswahili is used,...*

133 ...No. No is not all in Kiswahili. They are having English subject. There they must
 134 use English. But all in all, it is because they are beginners, they teach Kiswahili as a
 135 subject and then they also teach English in English.

136 *Ok. I see.*

137 So, because the children the never been explains in English, it is a new, it is a foreign
 138 language. So is very difficult how to say, so sometimes they use pictures and other
 139 things. But to explain in Kiswahili and English that all. With this one we mean this
 140 one.

141 *Mhm.*

142 But in international school, primary international school, it is all the time they are they
 143 are starting with English language. And being they are because of their situation so
 144 they have a lot of things which they can use for teaching.

145 *Ok.*

146 Instruction is done easier in their schools because of the facilities. So a lot of
 147 machines, a lot of computers, so...

148 *...teaching aids.*

149 Yes, a lot of teaching aids. So it is easier to start with the beginners in English.

150 *So, at this school, at your school, to which extent do the students succeed with English
 151 as the language in all subjects?*

152 Ehm. At the beginning is very difficult. Form one students usually they just come and
 153 then teachers are working in extra work.

154 *Extra work?*

156 Yes, is very difficult how to communicate with them since in primary schools they
 157 just learn one English, one subject in English, so other subjects are taught in
 158 Kiswahili. So it is a new thing to them. And they, we are having special courses is
 159 done for six weeks for form ones in English for all subjects, for just introduction. And
 160 then they just start to other subjects, slowly by slowly teaching them by English. But
 161 is very difficult.

162 *Ok. I see.*

163 Yes. So they have to go on and on and have to encourage them to learn more. But
 164 some of them they cope quickly, some of them they go for a long time.

165 *And the teachers? How do the teachers cope with this situation?*

166 Ehm. It depends on the system of the school now. When they join, when they join, if
 167 you if you delay them on making them to cope with their situation where they came
 168 from, they can let it go and then they can speak Kiswahili too. But we just encourage
 169 them that since you are having a new knowledge and the subjects, you just go on
 170 speaking in English.

171 *I see. How many lessons of English or how many periods of English do the students
 172 have? English as a subject.*

173 It depends to the classes. Form-ones are having four subject, four hours subject a
 174 week, but form three and form four six a week. So, four and six.

175 *What is your experience, learning all subjects in English, for instance Chemistry and
 176 Physics and History, to which extent does this way of teaching help the students to
 177 learn the English language? As a way of learning English and not only as a way of
 178 learning the subject.*

179 It includes even the vocabularies, it helps some. So, yeah, so it helps, it helps.

180 *This system of having English as the medium of instruction is very interesting and
 181 also new to me. It is very different to our system in Austria, so I'm curious how it
 182 works here.*

183 They are, they are having the discussion that they thought that they can put everything
 184 in Kiswahili, so to help our students. But in one side, it can work in that much since
 185 there are a lot of books have already done in English. Now how long it will take to
 186 change them in Kiswahili, in all subjects, everything is taught in, is written in, is
 187 written in English, like Physics and other things. Now how long it will? It is a long
 188 discussion, it will take a long discussion on making it easier on that way.

189 *And who is discussing? You mentioned "they". So, who is "they"?*

190 The Ministry, ah, the Ministry of Education and other departments which are
 191 responsible for in education, and curriculum developers, are the ones who are
 192 discussing this and then they make some suggestions to the government. But all in all,
 193 one day they see, in the other side, it is not easy since we are working with other
 194 countries. So we can't teach our students that, this is not, this is not always the
 195 country. So it is integration also.

196 *Ok. Integration?*

197 So international integration.

198 *I see. You are saying Tanzania collaborates with other counties?*

199 Yes.

200 *With which countries, for example? African countries?*

201 Yes, yes. So, is no way that we can force our students speaking only Kiswahili. It will
202 be so difficult to work with other people.

203 *Ok.*

204 So it will not go in that way. We can make that it, Kiswahili will be a major subject
205 and then maybe other subjects a little done in Kiswahili and English also.

206 *Mhm. I have seen that the textbooks that are used at this school are in English. Where*
207 *are they produced? Who are the authors of the books, where do they come from?*

208 Ahm, sometimes they just come from outside the country. It is, it depends to the
209 syllabus.

210 *Mhm.*

211 If it is the same as Kenya or Uganda or UK, they are just brought directly. So,
212 depends on the system and the level of the education which is taught.

213 *I see.*

214 So, some are written in the country and some they just came outside.

215 *Ok. I think that the textbooks, the layout, look very nice.*

216 Yes.

217 *Ehm. Ok, I think we are nearly at the end of the interview.*

218 Yes, please.

219 *Just one missing point, namely the exams.*

220 *Mhm.*

221 *How do the main exams at this school look like? For instance, the O-level exam.*

222 Yes. Is all in English.

223 *What kind of questions do the students have to answer?*

224 *Ehm.*

225 *For example, do they have to write short texts, or are there multiple-choice questions?*

226 Ok. It depends to the level. But the multiple-choice, some of the parts is written in

227 multiple-choice. And then matching items, then short answers, and sometimes an
228 essay questions. But science subjects are done in twos, are done in written work and a
229 practical.

230 *Ok, written and practical...*

231 ...yes, in the laboratories. Chemicals, they are using the chemicals and for making the
232 the results in that way, so they do practical too.

233 *I see.*

234 So, multiple-choice is, we are having different sections.

235 *Mhm.*

236 Some, you can find the multiple-choice, some matching-items, some short answers,
237 and answer questions.

238 *If a student does not pass the O-level exam, what happens?*

239 Ehm, ehm, ehm.

240 *For instance, do these students have to retake the exam or do they have to repeat the*
241 *whole year, the form? How is it done in Tanzania, at this school?*

242 Mhm. If they fail the examinations it depends to their parents.

243 *On their parents?*

244 Yes. But the government is ehm is ehm is no, there are, it is out of the government
245 system. Is the guidance themselves, now are taking care of their children, bring to
246 other sectors or to other schools or they can resit. Ask the same examination, but in
247 different system.

248 *So, if someone does not pass the O-level exam, they can change school and do the*
249 *exam a second time there?*

250 Yes. But they pay themselves. Only private schools.

251 *Oh, ok, I understand.*

252 But we don't allow them to resit the exam on the same school, on the governmental
253 school.

254 *Mhm. What happens if a student gives some answers or parts of an answer in*
255 *Kiswahili?*

256 Ehm...

257 *...for example, in the case he or she forgot the English word.*

258 No, no, it is not ok. No no, is not given the mark, is not given.

259 *I see.*

260 So, ehm, the teaching and the instructions is in English, so everything must be done in
261 English. Out of English is not marked, is crossed.

262 *Ok. Interesting.*

263 Yeah.

264 *My last question. Ehm, so far I have only been to Tanzania, so I have not been to*
265 *other African countries. Do you know, Tanzania's neighbouring countries, do they*
266 *have the same secondary school system like Tanzania, regarding the languages used*
267 *for teaching and learning?*

268 No, I don't think so. For example, Kenya, they are having different system. They are
269 having primary school up to standard five, then they go to middle school, middle
270 school standard six and seven, then they join from one. So, is a different system, a
271 different system.

272 *Mhm.*

273 While in our country we just start form one to standard seven, so is, and then are
274 having, are having grades, grades, ah, is not the same system like in the other
275 countries.

276 *Ok, I see. And concerning the languages used at school, for instance in Kenya and*
277 *Uganda? Do you know anything about that?*

278 Ehm, ehm, languages, no.

279 *Doesn't matter. Thank you. You gave me lots of information, thank you very much.*

280 Ok.

281 *Is there anything you would like to add? Anything you would like to say at the end of*
282 *the interview?*

283 No, ehm, no. Thank you so much. You are welcome.

284 *Thank you.*

285 You are welcome.

1 *I would like to start with some general questions, some general information about the*
2 *school, if this is ok for you.*

3 Yes, sure.

4 *So, as this school is a private school, students pay more than for a public secondary*
5 *school. Could you tell me more about the school fees?*

6 Ehm, yeah. Up to this moment we have 180 students. Our school is still new, so we
7 have form one to form three.

8 *Mhm.*

9 And the school fee that is accommodation and tuition fee is 900 000 TS a year.

10 *Ok. And how many teachers are employed at this school at the moment?*

11 Up to this time I have twelve teachers, the permanent ones.

12 *Aha, the permanent ones.*

13 Yes, and I have also four teachers who are not permanent.

14 *What does this mean?*

15 They are temporary and waiting for government employment.

16 *Ok, I see. Where do the teachers stay?*

17 At the school. But, no, just the women stay here, just girls at this school. The boys are,
18 they have taken houses in the village nearby, where I am obliged to pay the monthly
19 pay for them. They are not paying from their salary, so the school is paying as if they
20 own house.

21 *So it is part of what they receive from the school, part of their contract?*

22 Yes, and they are travelling with bicycles, but the bicycles belong to the school.

23 *Ah, that's why I saw so many bicycles of the same kind near the office.*

24 Yes, so I bought for them. I wrote a project for motorcycles and but I didn't get a
25 reply for motorcycles. So I decided to buy bicycles.

26 *Ok. I have to admit, I have no idea about the salary of teachers here in Tanzania. It*
27 *would be interesting to know if teachers employed at private secondary schools*
28 *usually earn more?*

29 Ehm. In some private schools maybe yes. But for us, because it is a new school, we

30 are not in that position to give them much more. But we give houses.

31 *Mhm.*

32 One thing teachers like to work in private schools because they get salaries on time,
33 especially here.

34 *Ok.*

35 They get the salaries on time and with the permanent teachers I have introduced them
36 to the so-called pension fund. This is very new.

37 *Aha.*

38 So, with pension fund you are sure with teachers to stay. That I as an employer and
39 them as the employees, we provide each ten per cent. Ten per cent means twenty per
40 cent of the salary, we send to the pension fund.

41 *Ok.*

42 After contribution of 36 months, he is sure of enjoying some privileges. For instance,
43 if he does not work, he is sure of his children to go to school, to be supported from
44 primary school to secondary school.

45 *Aha.*

46 Ehm. Yes. So they are staying also because of that.

47 *How are the teachers chosen for this school?*

48 We make interviews. Always, yes. And, you know, for me is not that they are coming
49 to the office. They come, I give the books, they prepare and they go to classes.

50 *I see.*

51 And I sit as a student attending what they are teaching. Sometimes if I'm busy with
52 other work, for example with the buildings we are finishing, I take the academic
53 master to do that. You know him, the academic master is very experienced.

54 *Yes, I know him.*

55 Yeah, very experienced.

56 *What kind of training, qualifications do the teachers have?*

57 Most of them have Bachelors of Education. But few of them Diploma. Yes, with form
58 six level they go for two years course for teaching, for instance, one teaching Civics
59 and the other one having Diploma course, but with first degree with education and
60 others not with education, for instance one is a musician but has a degree in IT, but he
61 took Science, so he is teaching physics and mathematics. Like the academic master,
62 teaching Physics and Mathematics.

63 *Ok. And your students, where do they come from?*

64 Yes, my students, for the moment they are coming from almost nine dioceses, from
65 different places in Tanzania. Some are coming from Dar es Salaam, from Arusha,
66 from Dodoma, from -----, from -----, from -----, from -----, from -----
67 ----, from -----, also from -----.

68 *...so from nearly all parts of the country.*

69 Yes, almost there are, almost all areas of Tanzania.

70 *So, why do parents choose this school for their children?*

71 Because of the students. The students they are like ambassadors. When they go for
72 holiday, the way they behave, the way they act, the other parents ask, “where are you
73 studying?”. “I’m studying in -----.” “Where is it?” “It is in ----- region.”
74 “How is it looking like?” So they go to say how the school is looking like.

75 *I see.*

76 Yes. But a good number of students are from ----- and -----. Yes.
77 We hope, the first O-level results, when they are published, will make the school more
78 popular.

79 *Ok. I would like to concentrate a bit on languages. Which languages are spoken at
80 this school?*

81 For the moment, English, rarely Kiswahili, and now we have introduced French.

82 *French? As a subject?*

83 Yes, as a subject. And as a language for two classes.

84 *I see.*

85 Yes. For sure, next time it will be a language. That’s why we use two languages in
86 greetings.

87 *So do these two classes also have French as a medium of instruction?*

88 Yes. Yes.

89 *In how many subjects?*

90 No, no. Only for medium of communication for themselves.

91 *Ah, ok.*

92 Yes, as a subject as well as a medium of communication, with English. We discourage
93 Kiswahili because Kiswahili is our national language for sure everyone knows. But

94 using Kiswahili while you learn the nine subjects in English you make an obstacle for
95 you to understand the other subjects being taught in English. You better be practicing
96 speaking English, softening the tongue and making you possible to understand the
97 subjects.

98 *Ok. So, in everyday life at school...*

99 ...they speak English.

100 *Also the teachers?*

101 Yes.

102 *Also outside the classroom?*

103 Ah no, no no. Teaches I doubt. It is not a law for teachers. But teachers when they
104 find students speaking Kiswahili, they are being punished. You know, there is
105 something you put on and if you put on three times a day or three times a week, you
106 get a punishment outside.

107 *Really?*

108 Really.

109 *What is it that they put on?*

110 It is a wooden thing with a rope. *[He is trying to describe it with gestures, indicating the shape*
111 *of a necklace.]* You put on and it is “Kiswahili speaker”.

112 *Ah.*

113 Kiswahili speaker.

114 *Ah. And if a student has to put it on three times, what happens then?*

115 You get a punishment for outside activities.

116 *Ok.*

117 Yeah. Because if we don't do that, otherwise they won't speak English.

118 *I see.*

119 And then they won't understand their subjects. And that is a great problem. Another
120 thing which we help them, we don't open the school as the other schools open.

121 *Which means...*

122 ...the school calendar of the government is starting with January, for us we start in
123 December.

- 124 *I see. Do your students have less days of holidays than students of a public school?*
- 125 No. No. For standard seven they finish their studies during September. So they have a
126 holiday from September to October and November. So if we start in December, three
127 months, almost four months they are in holiday. So we take only one month.
- 128 *Ok.*
- 129 So they come earlier. They start practicing English grammar.
- 130 *Mhm.*
- 131 You know, nowadays government has disturbed the syllabus for English as a subject.
132 With that syllabus one cannot be in the position to speak English and to know how to
133 speak English. But with our program of English grammar, means one is learning a
134 language in its process, with these eight parts of speech, the tenses and so on.
- 135 *Ok. So they have this time for preparation.*
- 136 Yes. And from there, later on, they start from January, they start studying Physics,
137 they start studying Biology, studying History, Civics and other subjects.
- 138 *What exactly does the Ministry of Education say about languages at secondary school*
139 *level?*
- 140 Ehm. Is not something that you choose as a school. It is a rule. From secondary
141 school, the school curriculum is English, only with one lesson in Kiswahili. Or with
142 other options like French, that one you start separate. But the school curriculum is
143 English and the medium of communication for secondary school is English.
- 144 *Ok. So, if all subjects are taught in English, what do you think, in which situations,*
145 *would you say it is ok or advisable to switch to Kiswahili?*
- 146 Yes. Yes, for instance, the teacher is never allowed to teach in Kiswahili. But to give
147 explanations for one, for instance I'm teaching Physics and I have finished and after
148 teaching during the time of questions some students have not understood, I would
149 clarify with a simple way in English. If not understood, then I can ask, where are the
150 problems. In this clarification of terms, of terminology, one can use Kiswahili. For
151 elaborations but not for teaching.
- 152 *Mhm.*
- 153 Yes.
- 154 *And to which extent do the teachers follow this procedure?*
- 156 Ehm. Some. Some yes. Some no. And for some who don't use Kiswahili, for me, I
157 cheer for them. Because you cannot use Kiswahili but you can simplify and elaborate
158 so that a student may understand in English, and because he will answer questions and
159 reply questions whether in examination or explain to someone in English. Explaining
160 and elaborating things in Kiswahili, you make someone to be a cripple.

161 *Ok.*

162 He must or she must be having a partial knowledge, because partially understood in
163 English and partially understood in Kiswahili. So he has got a divided mind.

164 *I see.*

165 Yes. But even the inspector, the inspector committee sometimes say that because of
166 the way that it is just jumping from primary school all the subjects in Kiswahili and
167 only English in English, now to the secondary level jumping from Kiswahili to all
168 subjects in English except Kiswahili in Kiswahili. So that's why we do sometimes
169 encourage teachers also to use Kiswahili for elaborations, at the beginning.

170 *Ok.*

171 Yes. For them to understand.

172 *And, using English as the medium of teaching, to which extent is this a good way to*
173 *learn not only the subject but also English?*

174 Yes. For me, if we are really serious, using English in learning is a good way for one
175 to understand English. But when we were students and most of the students hated this
176 curriculum of using English in learning. That is way they don't improve English. But
177 the purpose was to use English in learning so that one can improve and be able to
178 express oneself.

179 *Mhm.*

180 Yes. To express with the subject and express oneself when given the opportunity.

181 *And how many English lessons, lessons of English as a subject, do your students*
182 *have?*

183 English as a subject, there is English, there is Civics, there is History, there is
184 Geography, there is Mathematics, there is Biology, there is Chemistry, there is Bible
185 Knowledge, Music, all these subjects one is learning in English. Then there is
186 Kiswahili in Kiswahili. And international languages where one is supposed to learn in
187 the language.

188 *And as you said, English is also a separate subject. So, how many periods of English*
189 *do your students have?*

190 Ehm. Not equal to other subjects. Science subjects, together with English and
191 Kiswahili, plus Mathematics, they have got a big number of lessons. Yes.

192 *Mhm.*

193 And when they enter form three, with ordinary level, there is literature, where they are
194 supposed to read some novels, to explain the novels in English – “what is it? Is it a
195 conflict? Is it just a protest? And conflict between whom and whom? Why do you

196 think it is a conflict or why do you think a protest?"

197 *I see.*

198 Yes. Yes. So there are some novels. There are poems. There is stories and there is
 199 another one, there are three kinds of books one is supposed to read. Also in Kiswahili
 200 the same thing, when you reach the form three level.

201 *I see.*

202 Yes. Literature is also read in Kiswahili.

203 *And who chooses the literature in English, the books?*

204 It is curriculum. Is curriculum. For instance, the books we had they are no longer
 205 active nowadays, only few. Most of them have been removed from curriculum. I think
 206 you know Chinua Achebe.

207 *Oh yes, I do.*

208 The books of Chinua Achebe were used mostly in our curriculum.

209 *Mhm.*

210 And nowadays I think if one or two books from Chinua Achebe. Others they are from
 211 other authors.

212 *Where do the authors come from?*

213 Ehm. They are mostly African authors, African leaders. Yes.

214 *Ok. And the textbooks that are used for English language teaching and learning,
 215 where are they produced?*

216 Nowadays they are books introduced in Tanzania. And the books produced outside,
 217 they are just supplementary.

218 *Mhm.*

219 Additional books, not the books for the curriculum. But formally we used the books
 220 produced outside Tanzania. Because we were studying English grammar. And English
 221 grammar, always the books used where from Britain.

222 *Mhm.*

223 Yes. Yes.

224 *And the other textbooks for the other subjects, where are they produced today?*

225 Ehm. Most of them, nowadays, they are, you know, they do make business, and that's
 226 why, for me, that's why I think they are making business and the curriculum has been

227 introduced for politics. But formally we used books from different areas, for instance
228 Physics, we used books from abroad like Nelkon and so on. Nowadays they
229 discourage those big books, they just take the small books, one has just extracted from
230 the principles of Physics like Nelkon and so on. So you use the small books. If it is for
231 form one, the small book for from one, and so on. But we used to have big books
232 written by authors from outside the country, from Europe. Yes.

233 *And the small books, as you call them, where are they written?*

234 In Tanzania. Written and produced in Tanzania. But with some problems and with
235 long printing way and so on. But it is just the matter of business. For me, I have got
236 those ones, with the books from outside.

237 *The big books?*

238 Yes. We have some of them too. So that the students can use and can get wider
239 knowledge.

240 *I see. Does every student have a textbook of each subject?*

241 No. Two use one book. Yes, they share.

242 *Mhm.*

243 And if you give each a book, you reduce the spirit of sharing knowledge, yes. We can
244 do that, but giving each a book, even the spirit of sharing, the spirit of helping one
245 another decreases.

246 *Ok.*

247 Yes. Yes.

248 *My last question concentrates on future developments. How, do you think, will the*
249 *policy and situation concerning the medium of instruction look like in the future?*

250 Ehm.

251 *If you think of English and Kiswahili.*

252 Ehm. They have been trying to work for Kiswahili.

253 *Mhm.*

254 The problem is, Kiswahili is poor of terminologies, especially with science subjects.
255 We will borrow a lot of terms from other languages. So, that's why we use English.

256 *I see.*

257 Yes. Otherwise we could use German, because we were a colony of Germany. But the
258 Germans did not leave, as a colony they did not leave for Tanganjika any language.
259 They left for us schools and other words like "shule", it is a Kiswahili word but

260 borrowed from German.

261 *Ah. Interesting.*

262 Yes. Yes. So, then English was more influential, although they didn't stay for a long time as Germans did.

263 *Mhm.*

264 Yes. But English is still influencing. I think it might come a time where some people
265 will push Kiswahili to be used in learning. But, for me, I find it, it will be more
266 difficult for us for communication with other countries.

267 *Ok.*

268 Yes. Because being a bit speaking English, you can be a guest of someone. Now if we
269 learn each and everything in Kiswahili and start learning a new in English, it will be
270 more difficult, for further studies, especially for those going to take Masters. For
271 instance, you have taken your Bachelor in Kiswahili, Bachelor of Electrical
272 Engineering in Kiswahili, you need to go to Vienna for Masters in Electrical
273 Engineering. – How will you manage? So you have first to start a course in English
274 and also in German for communication. So it will be difficult.

275 *I see.*

276 So, for me, the idea is, let us strengthen and look for a good way where students can
277 use English in their learning, but that learning in English helps them to be fluent in
278 English.

1 *At my home university, we are interested in school systems in different countries*
2 *around the world and I am conducting research in Tanzania.*

3 Ok.

4 *First of all, would you like to tell me where you originally come from? Are you from*
5 *this region or another part of Tanzania?*

6 This region. I'm coming from this region, ----- region. And my village is -----.
7 Yes.

8 *And which subjects do you teach at this school?*

9 I'm teaching, ehm, in this school?

10 *Mhm.*

11 Civics and Kiswahili.

12 *Do you also teach in other schools?*

13 No.

14 *Ok. And for how many years have you been a teacher at this secondary school?*

15 I have got three months.

16 *Were you in another school before?*

17 No, I was at college.

18 *College, I see.*

19 Yes. After my, after my college then I asked to teach.

20 *May I ask you, why did you become a teacher? Which were your reasons?*

21 Ehm. Of course, like other works, I like teaching, like other works. I just like
22 teaching. Yes.

23 *So, you went to secondary school and then to college?*

24 Yes.

25 *Ok. Thank you. As I'm interested in languages used in Tanzania, I would like to ask*
26 *you, with which languages did you grow up? Which languages did you speak and*
27 *learn as a child?*

28 At the school?

29 *And also at home.*

30 At home, yeah, first we were just using vernacular language and Kiswahili. Yeah.

31 *And from primary school onwards?*

32 In primary school only Kiswahili and English as a subject, we learnt it as a subject.

33 *Ok. And after secondary school?*

34 At college, Kiswahili and English as a subject.

35 *English as a subject?*

36 Yes.

37 *So, in college, if you study for example Civics, in which languages do you study?*

38 We were mostly studying in English. Yes. Yes.

39 *Today, in everyday life and here at work, which languages do you use?*

40 Ah, at this school, maybe when we are in the class, we are just using English

41 language.

42 *Ok.*

43 But sometime, maybe you just are clarifying something if it is not understandable, we

44 are just using our language, Kiswahili.

45 *And among colleagues?*

46 What?

47 *When you talk with your colleagues, with other teachers, for instance in the staff room*

48 *and office, which languages do you use?*

49 We are just using English. Eh. Sometime Kiswahili.

50 *And when communicating with the headmaster?*

51 Headmaster, just using English.

52 *I see. So, when using English during your lessons, how do you feel?*

53 Of course, is just normal things. Because I know that students should know how to

54 speak English. Using Kiswahili sometime it can make a confusion. Maybe maybe you

55 ask them a question to use maybe in Kiswahili, once they come to represent their

56 national examination, they are supposed to use English. Using Kiswahili means you

57 make them difficulties in answering their questions there at the examinations. That's
58 why we prefer to use English.

59 *I see. And you, as a teacher who is also teaching Kiswahili, how do you feel when*
60 *using English while teaching Civics, while telling your students about their culture?*

61 Ehm. Is just normal. Like all subjects, English is used in Civics. Ehm, I think since
62 1992. Before it was in Kiswahili, then the name and language changed of subject.
63 Now English is the language of teaching Civics. It is the language of learning here.

64 *As you already said, in all subjects English is used...*

65 ...except in the subject Kiswahili. For Kiswahili we use Kiswahili.

66 *So, what do you think, according to your experience, how important is English in*
67 *Tanzania today?*

68 Ah, of course, English language is very important, because if you know English
69 language it means that you can go anywhere and you will communicate with the
70 different people. So because, since English is international language, it is popular
71 within the whole, the whole countries. That's why it is asked to maybe to
72 communicate easier with other nations.

73 *Mhm. When is English used in Tanzania? In which situations? Apart from the*
74 *educational sector.*

75 Ah in other areas life, English ah maybe in maybe in high court or court of appeal,
76 they are just using much, but mostly they are just using Kiswahili.

77 *Any other areas?*

78 Ehm, for instance, we have got some mass media, they are using English. But some
79 are using Kiswahili.

80 *Ok. And compared to the time when you were a child, how has the use of English*
81 *changed?*

82 Ah, using English is not more than when I was a child.

83 *So, what do you think about developments in the future? How will English develop in*
84 *Tanzania?*

85 Ah, of course, if the government will emphasise much on using English that means
86 that it will be possible that it will be more. But due to the laziness of maybe readers
87 and the people are not really responsible to use English much, that is why it will still
88 be difficult. Even teaching material, there is a shortage of teaching material and other
89 things, which cannot help to learn much about English.

90 *Can you tell me, although Tanzania is one of the few African countries having an*
91 *originally non-European national language, why is English used at secondary and*
92 *tertiary school level?*

93 Ah, of course, we are just using English in other subjects because when maybe we say
94 that maybe other subjects will be taught through Kiswahili, so we have not enough
95 vocabulary which we use. So English to facilitate the lesson. So, Kiswahili has few
96 vocabularies compared with English language.

97 *Ok.*

98 Yes. Some words are difficult to translate from English to Kiswahili.

99 *Do you also explain in this way why secondary schools use textbooks written in*
100 *English?*

101 Ehm. It is just instruction, because we are just learning, maybe we are learning
102 English in primary school, but once we come at O-level, from form one to form six,
103 the medium of instruction is English, this is why English is mostly applicable.

104 *What exactly does the Ministry of Education say concerning language use at school?*

105 There is a rule, the Ministry of Education gives the rule that that says only using
106 English. Yes.

107 *So, now, when you are teaching Civics, which strategies do you use to teach, to*
108 *explain complex information in English?*

109 Ehm. Ah. I explain and maybe explain again.

110 *If you notice that a student does not understand well what you are saying, what do*
111 *you do?*

112 Ehm, yeah, sometime you can use maybe or if you, you have prepared maybe
113 teaching aid, it will help you how to elaborate more about what you are talking. But if
114 you have not maybe teaching aid, then now you can use maybe a lot of examples to
115 let them to understand what you are teaching.

116 *Which kind of teaching aids do you use?*

117 Sometime can use maybe pictures, sometime can use maybe chart and other.

118 *Ok. In which situations during your lessons could you imagine to switch to Kiswahili?*

119 What?

120 *When teaching your subjects, so during your lessons, when is it a good idea to use*
121 *Kiswahili and not only English? In which situations would you change the language*
122 *and include some Kiswahili?*

123 Ehm. I never use Kiswahili.

124 *You never use...*

125 ... Yeah, I never use.

126 *I see. So, according to your experience, to which extent do the students succeed*
127 *learning your subject through the medium of English? How do they perform, how do*
128 *they manage to study Civics through English?*

129 Ah, of course, they succeed. It is normal. For them, it is just normal. Like all subjects.

130 *And to which extent is this a good way of learning not only the content of the subjects,*
131 *so Civics, but also the English language itself?*

132 Yes. Yes. It is a good way of learning. They learn English. The students learn.

133 *So, in general, which could be advantages and disadvantages of using English as the*
134 *medium of instruction at secondary school level?*

135 Ah, of course. Is advantage. It is the way of learning English language. Also, they
136 should know how to speak English. So students are supposed to use English also for
137 their communication, in the whole school, whole day. They should know how to
138 speak English, not only talking about subjects like Civics or Physics.

139 *I see. Interesting.*

140 Yes?

141 *Yes. For instance, in my home country, in most schools, we teach all subjects in*
142 *German, our national language. We do not use English as a medium in all subjects*
143 *but learn it as a separate subject. And students can also learn other languages, like*
144 *French, as a subject. In English as a subject, we concentrate on communication, on*
145 *communicative skills.*

146 Yes, communication. The students they have to know how to speak. Here the whole
147 day they are supposed to use English. Also we are supposed to use English. This is for
148 communication. So they do not only speak in subjects.

149 *Ok, I see. Shortly about the exams at this school. Which exams do your students have*
150 *in your subjects?*

151 From maybe O-level?

152 *For instance, yes. Or in the course of a term or year, what types of exams are there?*

153 We have mid-term test, before mid-term we have monthly test. After monthly test is
154 when we conduct mid-term.

156 *Ok.*

157 Yes. Also we have terminal and the last one is called annual.

158 *And who writes the tests, the questions and tasks? Who creates them?*

159 Yes, I write the tests. The monthly.

160 *For the O-level and A-level exam, how do the students usually prepare? What kind of*
161 *preparation is there?*

162 Ahm, preparation is just discussion, maybe in groups they can discuss about different
163 subjects or sometime individual, people they can learn private. Sometime they can
164 consult the teacher to hear their teachers.

165 *Ok. I see. My last question. Can you think of any alternative to the system of having*
166 *only English as the language used at secondary level?*

167 What?

168 *English, and not other languages, is the medium of instruction at secondary level here*
169 *in Tanzania. What do you think, to which extent could or should this be changed?*
170 *What other alternative systems could there be?*

171 Oh, no, it is impossible. Kiswahili cannot be. Yeah, impossible.

172 *Because of?*

173 Impossible because we are in worldwide. So, using Kiswahili it means that, ah, it will
174 be difficult because once maybe the time to go in other country maybe Kiswahili it
175 means that it will be difficult to go and speak with the other. Yes. Because you will be
176 using Kiswahili and other will be using maybe English because it is international. And
177 using Kiswahili is just national, we can say that is a language which is not satisfactory
178 to many nations.

179 *I see.*

180 Yeah. So, it will be difficult.

181 *Ok.*

182 So we will be using English always. It will stay English. All English.

183 *Ok. Thank you very much.*

184 Thank you too.

185 Is there something you would like to say, to add?

186 No, thank you.

1 *For how long have you been a teacher at this school?*

2 I came when the school was started, so it was in 2012. I were here from November, so
3 from the second term of the first year.

4 *And before that?*

5 Before I was in other schools. I think this school is my fourth one. I'm teaching but I
6 have not completed teacher training. I have completed my A-levels and then started to
7 work as a teacher because until now I cannot afford to go to university to do my
8 degree.

9 *How many years of teaching experience do you have?*

10 I have three years.

11 *I see. So you are maybe 24 years old, like me?*

12 Yes, yes, I have 24 of years.

13 *Ok. Which subjects are you teaching?*

14 Chemistry and Biology. But at the moment only Chemistry.

15 *What would you like to study? Do you want to become a teacher with a degree and
16 teacher training?*

17 I would like to do health studies, a degree in health, health services, maybe become a
18 nurse. Oh, I would like much, so much. But for this degree the fees are more than for
19 educational studies. So, I don't now.

20 *How much would you have to pay for a university degree in health services.*

21 Not for the whole degree but for the diploma of health it is, I don't know in your
22 money but in Tanzanian shillings it would be about 120 0000.

23 *That's a lot of money.*

24 Yes, that is. It is so much. So I have decided to teach now to earn some money.

25 *I see. Ok, now I would like to talk a bit about language use, in private and at work.*

26 Ok. You're welcome.

27 *Which languages did you learn and use as a child, with your family and at school?*

28 Ehm, at kindergarten we used Kiswahili, then from primary school, from standard
29 one, we used English, no we used Kiswahili, but except for English as a subject. But

30 in secondary school we used English, from form one up to form six, except for
31 Kiswahili as a subject. Yes.

32 *And at home, maybe before you went to kindergarten?*

33 I used, there we used, we use my mother tongue, which is -----.

34 *I see. So, today, not as a child or school child, but as a woman working as a teacher,*
35 *which languages do you prefer to use?*

36 In speaking I always like to use Kiswahili because of my friends here and whatever,
37 but I can also use English, even in speaking, so with the students or maybe teachers.
38 But others, they do not know English and so I use Kiswahili or my local language.

39 *Mhm. And who are the “others” you are referring to?*

40 Other people working here, for example cooks. They have maybe only standard 7 and
41 at primary school they use Kiswahili, so English is difficult to them.

42 *I see. With your colleagues, with the other teachers?*

43 Can be English, but mostly Kiswahili. Can be whatever. We can mix.

44 *Ok. And when talking with the headmaster, which language do you prefer or do you*
45 *usually use?*

46 Headmaster Kiswahili and English, mostly Kiswahili. But with the students it is
47 English, always English. But sometime maybe they don't understand what I am
48 speaking, so I use some Kiswahili maybe. Yeah.

49 *If you have contact with the students' parents, which languages do you use and which*
50 *languages do they use when talking to you?*

51 Yes, we have the contact. Especially when each arrives, and also she brings the
52 numbers of the parents or other relatives, so we have contacts with them. And we
53 speak Kiswahili with them. We only speak Kiswahili with them.

54 *I see. Ok, thank you. So, you said, here all subjects are taught in English, except*
55 *Kiswahili.*

56 Yes, in all secondary schools.

57 *So, how do you feel when teaching Chemistry in English?*

58 Ah, it is very easy for me. I tell you, I don't know why, I enjoy this subject much.
59 More than really if one gives me Kiswahili to teach, would be very difficult to me and
60 I would not be interested much.

61 *I see.*

62 Yeah. I enjoy much teaching Chemistry and I don't know why but it is fine for me to

63 use English rather than Kiswahili, because that Chemistry is, much things I think are
64 from English. I don't know how to translate Chemistry in Kiswahili, is difficult, very
65 difficult.

66 *Mhm. What do you think, how important is English in Tanzania today? Where is it*
67 *used? How much is it used?*

68 English in Tanzania is very important. Since this bring the international relationship.
69 Also it is mostly used in all books which we are learning, other materials. Also in
70 various communication skills, for example perhaps someone moves to other country
71 maybe Nigeria, America, whatever. Also is most used in application of maybe
72 application for high education, which is universities. And also when someone maybe
73 works at the hospital, there are many people other from different countries.

74 *Mhm.*

75 Yes, that common language is English, which can be used there. And also I think in
76 each settings. For instance there at the school, many guests can arrive and other do not
77 know Kiswahili. Yeah. But also getting various friends from different countries.
78 Without English it is difficult to know how to communicate with them.

79 *Ok. And compared to the time when you were a school child? How has the use and*
80 *position of English changed?*

81 Ehm. When I was at the school, maybe for O-level, to me, when I was at primary
82 school, I liked much English, because I lived with my sister and our cousin from
83 America, so she was speaking English, but she wanted much to know Kiswahili. So
84 that thing made me to like English much. I like much English.

85 *I see. So you've developed a passion for this language.*

86 Yes, yes. So, she told me about English, various vocabularies and others. That helped
87 me to know many things, about vocabularies, maybe even how to write letters in
88 English. So, that thing made me to like English much. When I was at school, at O-
89 level maybe, I liked much English. Some of us, some of the students have not studied
90 English at primary school time, so it was difficult for them to speak English always.
91 But when I started to live here and other places especially the schools I like English
92 because this one helped me to be comfortable in speaking with the students and also
93 teaching in English. That is very important to me.

94 *Ok.*

95 So, for me, it is most important now than that time.

96 *Now, as you've already taught in different schools, what is your experience, to which*
97 *extent do the students manage to learn different subjects through the medium of*
98 *English. How do they learn?*

99 Ehm. In public schools, many students do not understand English much. And also are
100 not influenced much to speak English, since those schools are taking students
101 surrounding that environment. So, to speak English is a thing that is very difficult to

102 them. And also they are coming from local places and they use maybe their mother
103 tongues always rather than even Kiswahili. So there are more works: to help
104 somebody that vocabulary from English to national language, is Kiswahili, then to
105 translate from Kiswahili to local. It is very difficult. Even for them to speak is very
106 difficult.

107 *Mhm.*

108 But, at this school, I'm enjoying it much since most students are coming from towns
109 and also when they arrive were they influenced by others who have studied even
110 English mediums, yeah, rather than primary schools which use Kiswahili only. So it is
111 easy for them to cope with their environment, to speak English and to try much and
112 much.

113 *But, these students, do they speak English with their families?*

114 No, usually they not speak English at home. Maybe at schools, at international school.
115 Yeah, but only some of them, some of students in secondary schools have competence
116 when they start. Since they were learning as subject, only subject, not language for
117 communication. So it is not much. Sometime the English from primary school help
118 them to know only some vocabularies, not much. And when they come here, they
119 speak Kiswahili to them, but they start study all subjects in English except Kiswahili.
120 So, that first time is vey difficult. But as they move, they study much and understand
121 well and are being competent in English.

122 *So, when you're teaching Chemistry, which strategies do you use? For instance, if a
123 student does not understand well what you are talking about in English, what do you
124 do?*

125 I also use the aids. And we explain much to them, maybe use simple language, use
126 simple vocabularies which maybe make someone understand well. But also sometime,
127 even once use Kiswahili if that one can be translated in Kiswahili.

128 *I see. You said to use teaching aids. Which kind of aids are you talking about?*

129 Sometime gonna be the various sources which are in front of schools, even in the
130 kitchens, even in the rooms, various matters. Or materials used for schools, for
131 teaching, like books. Or all objects, like bottles, found in this environment.

132 *In which situations do you use Kiswahili, or translate, as you mentioned before?*

133 Yeah, sometime I use Kiswahili, especially for those form-ones, since they are
134 coming from Kiswahili, and also subjects being taught in Kiswahili and then being
135 translated to English is difficult for them to understand, if there is English only.

136 *According to what you've experienced in these three years, to which extent is being
137 taught in English a good way to learn all kind of subjects?*

138 Is good. It is good. Normal way.

139 *And to which extent is being taught in English a good way to learn the English*

140 *language itself?*

141 Ehm. It is good. Is good much. Why is good, because various materials, main
142 materials which are used, their sources are not in Tanzania. So maybe for example
143 from American Peace Corps and other things and their source is English. And others
144 from various things from Britain. So using English is better, but I think it is it would
145 be very good if all schools from primary school or kindergarten schools that the
146 taught language should be English much.

147 *I see.*

148 Yeah, so that they can study much. It is fine. And also because all examinations are in
149 English, except Kiswahili. All secondary school examinations in English.

150 *Ok. What have you experienced, which are common reasons why students may not*
151 *perform well and maybe fail an exam?*

152 Sometime can be language. Especially form-ones. Or because she or he is not
153 competent in that language or in that subject or maybe because she haven't
154 understood well. Ehm. Or maybe she is carelessly. So there are many things, many
156 reasons, not only language.

157 *I see. Your students had their MOCK examination last week, so, what do they usually*
158 *do as exam preparation?*

159 Mhm. Ehm. May you repeat your question?

160 *Yes. Before the exams, how do your students study?*

161 Oh. Ok. They always have preparation time at evening. But many students before they
162 have their examination we are not teaching them. Before that, maybe two weeks
163 before or even a month or whatever, we are trying to do various examinations, maybe
164 MOCK examinations from past or different district. So we are preparing them by
165 doing various examinations, the questions. To see how the questions are.

166 *At the end, I would like to ask you, what exactly does the Ministry of Education say*
167 *about the languages used in secondary schools in Tanzania?*

168 It is the rule. English is the rule. That is the national rule. Is it? *[She asks a teacher who is*
169 *just passing her desk]:* Sir, that is the rule? English in secondary school is national rule? -
170 *[He answers]:* Yap, yap, this is our rule.

171 *I see.*

172 *[Again the male teacher]:* This is the system of our government. Their decision.

173 *[Interviewer to the female teacher]:* And, what do you think, to which extent will this system
174 *change in the future? To which extent can it be changed, maybe considering for*
175 *instance a multilingual approach?*

176 Ehm. I don't know. Ehm. I think English will remain. The system will remain as it is,

177 yes, will remain as it is. No language change. Will be as it is.

178 *Ok, thank you. Is there anything you would like to add, to share?*

179 Ehm. Nothing more. Nothing more.

180 *Ok.*

181 But I think, even though we use English as medium of communication at school, as
182 language for various subjects, and English is better than using Kiswahili, since to
183 translate Physics in Swahili is very difficult.

184 *But would it be possible, possible to translate?*

185 Yeah, why not, it can be possible, but it will be very difficult, since some vocabularies
186 are not present in Kiswahili. So, it will be difficult. But also I think, Kiswahili as our
187 national language should not be lost.

188 *Mhm.*

189 Yeah, cannot be. We use it much. Maybe in magazines, even in speaking, whatever.
190 Even though we have maybe that in school one should use only English, students only
191 speak Kiswahili.

192 *They only speak Kiswahili? At this school?*

193 Yeah, when they are talking themselves, they speak Kiswahili. Maybe they don't
194 know the vocabulary or whatever.

195 *I see.*

196 And also many people have not ah are not good in English as such. So, you cannot
197 speak English whenever you are for instance at the shop or everywhere. Maybe in
198 those big cities, there are people there.

Appendix C – Coding manual

NOTES: GENERAL INFORMATION (source: village life, visiting schools, observations)

Category	Description	Example
Village	village life (language use) & environment	<i>children speak local language at home</i>
ScB	school building	<i>a school consisting of various buildings</i>
CI	classrooms	<i>pupils share small tables</i>
CuSu	curriculum & subjects	<i>9 subjects</i>
ScL	general language use at school (outside classrooms, in staff room)	<i>staff room: teachers speak Kiswahili</i>
TL	language use of teachers (lessons)	<i>T uses only English</i>
StL	language use of students (lessons)	<i>some words, in English</i>
StBeh	students: behaviour	<i>students don't react to questions</i>
Tmat	teaching material	<i>teacher has prepared some notes</i>
Ex	exams	<i>mid-term and end-term exams</i>
PersInt	personal impression: interviewee and atmosphere	<i>I didn't know if she would understand my questions.</i>
PersOb	personal impression: class atmosphere	<i>no interaction between teacher and students</i>

INTERVIEWS: TEACHERS

Category	Description	Example
Tprofile	teachers: info, profile	<i>"I'm coming from this region."</i>
TL	teachers: language use	<i>"In speaking, I always like to use Kiswahili because of my friends here and whatever, but I can also use English."</i>
E TZ	role of English in Tanzania today and in the future	<i>"Since this bring the international relationship."</i>
LP	personal understanding of language policy	<i>"English is the rule."</i>
ScL	general language use at school	<i>"When we are in the class, we are just using English language."</i>
Feeling	feeling when teaching in English	<i>"It is very easy for me."</i>
StSuc	students' success, how they cope	<i>"So, to speak English is a thing that is very difficult."</i>
Tstra	teaching strategies: conveying info & clarifying	<i>"We explain much to them, maybe use simple language."</i>
Tmat	teaching material	<i>"I also use the aids."</i>
Lswitch	in-class code-switching	<i>"Sometime I use Kiswahili."</i>
LearnS	way of learning subject?	<i>"It is good. Normal way."</i>
LearnL	way of learning language?	<i>"So we are preparing them by doing various examinations."</i>
ExPrep	exams & preparation	<i>"They always have preparation time at evening."</i>
Dev/Appr	future developments & possible alternative approaches	<i>"The system will remain."</i>

INTERVIEWS: HEADMASTERS

Category	Description	Example
ScT	school type & fees	<i>"Our school is still new, so we have Form 1 to Form 3."</i>
CuSu	curriculum & subjects	<i>"Is nine subjects."</i>
T	teachers: number and background, selection	<i>"We are having five ladies and then fourteen men."</i>
St	students: number, background, future	<i>"At this school, the total number is 602."</i>
LP	personal understanding of language policy	<i>"Is the national policy."</i>
ScL	general language use at school (outside classrooms, in staff room)	<i>"Teachers I doubt. It is not a law for teachers."</i>
TL	language use of teachers (lessons)	<i>"In the teaching there are instructions, instructions are given in English."</i>
StL	language use of students (lessons & outside classrooms)	<i>"When they find students speaking Kiswahili, they are being punished."</i>
LearnS	way of learning subject?	<i>"To express with the subject."</i>
LearnL	way of learning language?	<i>"Using English in learning is a good way for one to understand English."</i>
EL	English lessons	<i>"With our programme of English grammar, means one is learning a language in its process."</i>
Tmat	teaching material	<i>"They can use drawings, sometimes pictures."</i>
Textb	textbooks	<i>"Nowadays there are books introduced in Tanzania."</i>
Ex	exams	<i>"We have the same examination for each level."</i>
Dev/Appr	future developments & possible alternative approaches	<i>"They have been trying to work for Kiswahili."</i>

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Verwendung von Englisch als einzige Unterrichtssprache im Sekundarbereich des tansanischen Bildungssystems führte in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu einigen Debatten und Forschungsprojekten von BildungsexpertInnen und LinguistInnen, die zeigten, welche Herausforderung der offizielle Sprachgebrauch an höheren Schulen in Tansania für erfolgreiches Lehren und Lernen darstellt. Unabhängige Studien, die in unterschiedlichen Schulen in vor allem städtischen oder touristischen Gebieten des ostafrikanischen Landes durchgeführt wurden, veranschaulichten, dass das Englischsprachniveau der SchülerInnen des Sekundarbereichs meist nicht ausreicht um komplexe Lerninhalte zu erfassen und sich aktiv am Unterricht zu beteiligen. Daher wäre, wie von z.B. Hassana (2006b) betont, der Wechsel von Englisch zu Kiswahili als offizielle Unterrichtssprache notwendig, um sozioökonomische Ungleichheiten nicht noch weiter zu verstärken, die Bildungschancen einzelner Tansanier zu erhöhen, und somit die Entwicklung des Landes selbst zu ermöglichen.

Basierend auf einer empirischen Studie, die im Juli und August 2014 durchgeführt wurde, ist das Ziel der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit, einen Einblick in den Sprachgebrauch und die Erfahrungen von Lehrenden in zwei Sekundarschulen im ländlichen Tansania, in einem Gebiet weit weg von Städten, Infrastruktur, Strom, dem Zugang zu Informationsmedien oder dem Kontakt mit der englischen Sprache im Tourismussektor, zu bieten. Bildungssprachpolitik von einer ethnographischen Perspektive betrachtend, war die Grundidee der hier präsentierten Forschung die Regeln des Sprachgebrauchs und die Rolle der Lehrenden als potentielle EntscheidungsträgerInnen in einer privaten und einer öffentlichen Schule in der Nähe des gleichen tansanischen Dorfes zu untersuchen. Dies war u.a. verbunden mit der Beobachtung von Strategien, die von Lehrenden und Lernenden angewendet werden um in den unterschiedlichen Schulgegenständen komplexe Sachverhalte auf Englisch zu vermitteln bzw. zu verstehen, und um die Kommunikation im Unterricht zu ermöglichen.

Die Forschungsergebnisse zeigen wie sich die Meinungen der interviewten LehrerInnen über die heutige Rolle von Englisch in Tansania (Vor- und Nachteile des englischsprachigen Unterrichts, Lernerfolge, mögliche bilinguale Bildungsprogramme) abhängig von ihren persönlichen soziolinguistischen Hintergründen und Arbeitsbedingungen unterscheiden. Weiters veranschaulicht die Studie, dass manche makro-sprachpolitischen Entscheidungen zu einflussreich sind um von Einzelpersonen auf einer Mikroebene von Schulinstitutionen individuell interpretiert zu werden, und wie sehr ehemalige Kolonialverbindungen und heutige internationale Wirtschaftsbeziehungen nationale Entscheidungsprozesse im tansanischen Bildungssektor beeinflussen.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Persönliche Angaben

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Studium

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